

The Creation, Reception and Perpetuation of the Sherlock Holmes Phenomenon,
1887 - 1930

by
Katherine Mary Wisser

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Katherine Mary Wisser
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This study examines the role of author, reader and publisher in the creation of the Sherlock Holmes legacy. Each entity participated in the inculcation of this cultural phenomenon. This includes Conan Doyle's creation of the character and his perception of that creation, the context of the stories as seen through the reader's eye, and the publishers' own actions as intermediary and as agent. The examination of 160 Holmes texts at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill Wilson Library Rare Book Collection provides insights into the manipulation of the book as object during Conan Doyle's life, including such elements as cover design, advertisements and illustrations.

Headings:

Holmes, Sherlock (Fictitious character)

Doyle, Arthur Conan, Sir, 1859-1930

Detective and mystery stories, English

Publishing - History - United States

Publishing – History – Great Britain

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December 1887 saw the publication of the first of sixty tales that have immortalized the characters of Sherlock Holmes and Dr. Watson. Sir Arthur Conan Doyle, after being rejected by several publishers agreed to relinquish all rights to the story *A Study in Scarlet* in exchange for £25. Such an inauspicious beginning belies the popularity of the Sherlock Holmes stories and the inculcation of a cultural phenomenon. Saying the name Sherlock Holmes conjures “detective,” deerstalker cap, meerschaum pipe, magnifying glass in the consciousness of the world. The image of Holmes has been used over and over again. It has pervaded the collective consciousness of us all, to such an extent that is no longer necessary to know the story in order to understand the symbolism.

The phenomenon of Sherlock Holmes begins with its author Arthur Conan Doyle. His attempts to supplement his income from an unprofitable medical practice led him to create the beloved heroes and villains of the Sherlock Holmes tales. The phenomenon also involved a burgeoning public, desirous for reading material, and a publishing industry ready to act as intermediary with its own efforts to create more and more sales.

The history of the publication of the Sherlock Holmes tales, named the canon by Sherlockian scholars, illuminates cultural patterns extant at the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth centuries. Throughout the period,

there was rising literary and publishing production. The canon displays the formative period of a genre, a window into an industry which burst at the seams by the time of Conan Doyle's death, and the manipulation of their product. The many publications of the canon, thus, begin to tell of the cultural nuances in America and Great Britain, as they struggle to define and redefine themselves during a period that saw the end of Victorian moral codes and the uncertainty of the future century.

THE AUTHOR

"You've been in Afghanistan, I perceive."

A Study in Scarlet

Arthur Conan Doyle was born 22 May, 1859 the eldest son of Charles and Mary Foley Doyle, in Edinburgh, Scotland. Both Conan Doyle's parents had artistic qualities that combined in their son Arthur. Charles Doyle came from a family of artists, including John Doyle, his father, who was a political cartoonist and Richard Doyle, his brother, who illustrated for *Punch* and designed the famous cover. Mary Foley Doyle, referred to as "Ma'am" by her family, was well-read, had a great interest in story-telling and a passion for genealogy. The close relationship between Conan Doyle and his mother encouraged him to pursue literature.

Conan Doyle spent 1876 to 1877 in medical school at Edinburgh University and the following two years as surgeon's clerk for Dr. Joseph Bell. At the same time, he began to write, publishing his first story, "The Mystery of Sassasa valley" in *Chamber's Journal* in 1879. For several years following his service in

Edinburgh, Conan Doyle practiced medicine in a variety of fashions, including as a surgeon aboard several ships and the establishment of a private practice at Southsea. All the while, he continued to pen stories in his spare time and managed to publish a few, never earning more than £50 a year for writing. By 1885, Conan Doyle had gotten his MD and written his first novel *Girdlestone & Company*, which he circulated to publishers with no success.¹

In 1886 he married Louis Hawkins, and, during the quiet hours in his medical practice office, he began to write a story entitled “A Tangled Skein.”² It was here that the characters of Sherlock Holmes and Dr. Watson were created. Upon finishing what became *A Study in Scarlet*, Conan Doyle sent it around to the publishers, and it was subsequently rejected by three different firms. One of the main reasons for this was its length. It was too long for a short story but not long enough for a serial.³ His submission to Ward, Lock & Co. finally received a reply after Mrs. Bettany, wife of Dr. G. T. Bettany, the chief editor, read the tale: “This is, I feel sure, by a doctor – there is internal evidence. But in any case, the writer is a born novelist. I am enthusiastic about the book, and believe it will be a

¹ J. Randolph Cox, “Sir Arthur Conan Doyle” in *Dictionary of Literary Biography: British Mystery Writers, 1860-1919*, (Bernard Benstock and Thomas F. Staley, eds. Vol. 70. Detroit: Gale Research Company, 1978, pp. 112-134), pp. 116-117. Biographical information about Doyle is plentiful. Several excellent accounts of his life have been written, including John Dickson Carr *The Life of Sir Arthur Conan Doyle* (New York: Harper & Borthers, 1949), Pierre Nordon, *Conan Doyle: A Biography* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1964), Jacqueline A. Jaffe, *Arthur Conan Doyle* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1987), and Michael Coren *Conan Doyle* (London: Bloomsbury, 1995), as well as entries in several different biographical dictionaries, and introductions to scholarly analyses of his writings. Many of the details outlined here are recounted in many if not all of the biographical sources available.

² *Arthur Conan Doyle: an exhibit from the Mary Kahler and Philip S. Hench Collection July 18 – September 30, 1979*. (Minneapolis: Special Collections O. Meredith Wilson Library, University of Minnesota, 1979), p. 3.

³ Jaffe, p. 33., Also noted in Audrey Peterson, *Victorian Masters of Mystery: From Wilkie Collins to Conan Doyle*, (New York: Frederick Ungar Publishing Co., 1984), p. 200.

great success.”⁴ Ward, Lock & Company, on Mrs. Bettany’s advice, constructed a letter to Doyle, expressing a desire to publish the work:

Dear Sir,

We have read your story and are pleased with it. We could not publish it this year as the market is flooded at present with cheap fiction, but if you do not object to its being held over till next year, we will give you £ 25 for the copyright.

Yours faithfully,
Ward, Lock & Co.
Oct. 30, 1886⁵

For Conan Doyle, this was a disappointing beginning. He was concerned about the small amount of money, and the long delay, because he believed that he could succeed in the literature world, and *A Study in Scarlet* could open the door to that world.⁶ Disappointment aside, Conan Doyle accepted the conditions and Sherlock Holmes headed to print. Conan Doyle did not receive another penny for the first Sherlock Holmes story, despite the resurgence of its popularity following the publications of the short stories compiled in the *Adventures* and *Memoirs*.

A Study in Scarlet received lukewarm reviews after its appearance in *Beeton’s Christmas Annual*. One review from the *Graphic* in December 1887 stated that “It is not at all a bad imitation but it would never have been written but for Poe, Gaboriau and R. L. Stevenson... Those who like detective stories and have not read the great originals will find the tale full of interest. It hangs

⁴ as quoted in Coulson Kernahan, “Personal Memories of Sherlock Holmes” *London Quarterly and Holborn Review*, vol. 159 (October 1934), pp. 449-60, reprinted in Harold Orel, ed. *Sir Arthur Conan Doyle: Interviews and Recollections*, (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1991), p. 42.

⁵ Arthur Conan Doyle, *Memories and Adventures*, (London: John Murray, 1930), p. 90.

⁶ Conan Doyle, *Memories and Adventures*, p. 91.

together well and finishes ingeniously.”⁷ A subsequent review of the novel, once it appeared in book form was more favorable:

Nobody who cares for detective stories should pass over *A Study in Scarlet*... The author has equaled the best of his predecessors... He has actually succeeded in inventing a brand new detective ... The plot is daringly constructed... There is no trace of vulgarity or slovenliness, so often characteristic in detective stories ... besides being exceptionally ingenious, it may be read with pleasure by those [who] do not care for such things in a general way.⁸

Yet, it was not until the short stories compiled in the *Adventures* began publication that *A Study in Scarlet* surged in popularity. While the sales were sufficient to do reprints from the 1888 book form, three of the six generated by Ward, Lock & Co. by 1892 occurred following the success of the first series of short stories in *The Strand*.⁹

At the same time, Conan Doyle began to work on the first of several historical novels, and it was this literature for which he felt the closest affiliation. *Micah Clark*, a novel of the Monmouth Rebellion of 1685, was published in 1889. In that same year, Conan Doyle attended a dinner with Oscar Wilde and a man named John Marshall Stoddart, who was an agent for *Lippincott's Magazine* out of Philadelphia. The result of this dinner was *The Sign of the Four* (published in England as *The Sign of Four*), a second Sherlock Holmes novel, and Wilde's *The*

⁷ William Baring-Gould, ed. *The Annotated Sherlock Holmes: The Four Novels and the Fifty-six stories Complete by Sir Arthur Conan Doyle*, (New York: Clarkson N. Potter, 1967), p. 12.

⁸ Baring-Gould, *The Annotated Sherlock Holmes*, pp 12-13.

⁹ Cox, p. 118. See also Appendix B. the amazing volume or reprints apparent in the analysis of the holdings at the University of North Carolina – Chapel Hill Wilson Library Rare Book Collection demonstrate a hunger for the earliest writings of Sherlock Holmes. *A Study in Scarlet*, *The Sign of Four*, and the short stories compiled in the *Adventures* and *Memoirs* appeared 148 times in the books examined at RBC. These numbers reflect reprintings of tales both bound with other tales or published alone. Only *The Hound of the Baskervilles* begins to rival the popularity of these early works, with 12 volumes.

Picture of Dorian Gray. *The Sign of the Four* was published simultaneously in America and Great Britain and again enjoyed moderate success.¹⁰

Conan Doyle, however, was consistently under financial strain. He assumed responsibility for his family as early as 1879, when his father, suffering from the ill-effects of alcoholism and epilepsy, was placed in a convalescent home.¹¹ He turned to writings in some ways as a viable source of income. In other ways, he strove to secure a place for himself in the literary establishment. On this second count, he considered his historical novels as more serious, while his work in detective fiction an entry way to that world. This dichotomous approach to his literary output foreshadowed later attitudes toward the world famous detective and the production of stories about him.

In December of 1890, Doyle sold his practice in Southsea and moved his family to Vienna to study optometry. He returned to England in March of 1891 to set up a new practice in London. It is here that Doyle conceived of the idea to write a series of short stories:

Considering the various journals with the disconnected stories, it had struck me that a single character running through a series, if it only engaged the attention of the reader, would bind that reader to that particular magazine. On the other hand, it had long seemed to me that the ordinary serial might be an impediment rather than a help to a magazine, since sooner or later, one missed one number and afterwards it had lost all interest. Clearly the ideal compromise was a character which carried through, and yet installments which were each complete in themselves, so that the purchaser was always sure that he could relish the whole contents of

¹⁰ Chris Steinbrunner and Otto Penzler, *Encyclopedia of Mystery and Detection*, (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1976, pp. 102-104), p. 103. This dinner is a famous literary anecdote, given the outcome. Conan Doyle's impression of Wilde is recounted in his autobiography and several other literary historians have discussed this dinner. Conan Doyle, *Memories and Adventures*, pp. 93-95.

¹¹ Steinbrunner and Penzler, p. 103.

the magazine. I believe that I was the first to realize this and 'The Strand Magazine' the first to put it into practice.¹²

The short stories were marketed to the new illustrated monthly *The Strand Magazine* which was conceived of and published by George Newnes. Herbert Greenough Smith, the literary editor of *The Strand* from its first issue in January 1901 until his retirement in 1930, was thrilled to discover the submission of two short stories "A Scandal in Bohemia" and "The Red-Headed League" by Conan Doyle. Later, Smith said "I at once realized that there was the greatest short story writer since Edgar Allen Poe. ...I remember rushing into Mr. Newnes's room and thrusting the stories before his eyes."¹³ It was then that a literary relationship that would last more than thirty years was born. Conan Doyle was immediately commissioned for six stories featuring Sherlock Holmes. It is these six and the eighteen stories following that vaulted Holmes into literary legacy.

Conan Doyle was, by this time, being represented by literary agent A.P. Watt. Watt was by far the most successful of early British agents.¹⁴ He pushed the compensation from £ 30 to £ 150 for the first series and maneuvered competitive bidding from S.S. McClure in the United States.¹⁵ Conan Doyle's ability to demand prices beyond his own expectations was the impetus for creating the second series of short stories, for which he received £ 1,000 per story.¹⁶

¹² Doyle, *Memories and Adventures*, pp. 113-114. See also A. E. Murch, *The Development of the Detective Novel*, (London: Peter Owen Limited, 1958), p. 171.

¹³ Orel, p. 33n.

¹⁴ John Tebbel, *A History of Book Publishing in the United States*, (New York: R.R. Bowker, 1975), p. 131.

¹⁵ Eugene Exman, *The House of Harper: One Hundred and Fifty Years of Publishing*, (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1967), p. 176.

¹⁶ Murch, p. 175.

Almost from the outset, though, Conan Doyle had a detachment from the character. “At last, after I had done two series of them I saw that I was in danger of having my hand forced, and of being entirely identified with what I regarded as a lower stratum of literary achievement. Therefore, as a sign of my resolution, I determined to end the life of my hero.”¹⁷ Even prior to the writing of “The Final Problem” in which Conan Doyle sent Holmes and his arch-enemy Dr. Moriarty over the Reichenbach Falls in Switzerland, he spoke of ending Holmes’ life. In a letter to Ma’am on 11 November 1891, he states “I think of slaying Holmes in this sixth & winding him up for good & all. He takes my mind from better things” to which Ma’am replied a passionate “You won’t! You can’t! You mustn’t!”¹⁸ The eventual “death” of Sherlock Holmes caused a public uproar, and Conan Doyle and Newnes at *The Strand* were swamped with mail.¹⁹

Conan Doyle, at the same time he was penning the Sherlock Holmes short stories wrote *The White Company*, which was published in 1891. He continued to write historical fiction, and in 1900 wrote *The Great Boer War* following his service as an unofficial supervisor to support British forces. A pamphlet entitled *The War in South Africa: Its Cause and Conduct* published in 1902 earned Conan Doyle a knighthood.²⁰ He resigned his practice of medicine and concentrated on writing full time. He was able to name higher and higher fees, some which he assumed would be refused, for the Sherlock Holmes stories, as *The Strand* and its audience clamored for more.

¹⁷ Doyle, *Memories and Adventures*, p. 117.

¹⁸ As quoted in Charles Higham, *The Adventures of Conan Doyle*, (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., Inc., 1976), p. 100.

¹⁹ *Arthur Conan Doyle: and exhibit from the Mary Kahler and Philip S. Hench Collection* July 18 – September 30, 1979, p. 6.

The Hound of the Baskervilles, often claimed the best written novels of the canon, began its serial publication in 1901, eight years following the publication of the death of Holmes. It was not a resurrection of the character but harkened back to an earlier period in Holmes's life. Contemporary audiences accepted this, claiming that there were other cases that were named in the stories that could be written. *The Bookman's* "Chronicle and Comment" listed 23 distinct cases referred to in the short stories that should be told. Particularly of interest was a case entitled "The Second Stain." The editors commented that "the mere title of the story shows genius of a high order and rouses the most intense expectation," and further "as the new century has now come, it is vitally important to our peace of mind that the story should be told."²¹ "The Second Stain" was finally told in December 1904, while many other cases were left to the reader's speculation. When Conan Doyle finally capitulated and agreed to write more Holmes tales, the editors of *The Bookman* commented,

One thing, we trust, will be insisted upon; and that is that in these new stories we shall find narrated those adventures which are only hinted at in the existing memoirs of Holmes, and which have been tantalizing us for many years. We append here with a list of them as casually mentioned by Dr. Watson, and we feel we have a right to insist that they shall all be narrated at full length.²²

Conan Doyle was offered \$5,000.00 per story, by *Collier's Weekly*, following publication of *The Hound of the Baskervilles* and half that for the English rights by *The Strand*.²³ Despite this call to expound on unexplained cases, however, Conan Doyle chose to bring Holmes back to life, stating that he had not really

²⁰ Peterson, p. 199

²¹ "Chronicle and Comment" in *The Bookman*, June 1903, p. 341.

²² "Chronicle and Comment" in *The Bookman*, June 1903, p. 341.

²³ Cox, p. 126.

died but was traveling incognito as a Norwegian explorer named Sigerson to track down the rest of Moriarty's gang throughout Europe.²⁴ It was reported in *The Bookman* in 1903 that Conan Doyle was receiving close to \$2.00 a word in the United States for the serial rights.²⁵

Conan Doyle's productivity waned over the next twenty years. Although he wrote over half of the tales following the resurrection of Holmes, his production was sporadic. In initial publication, he remained faithful to *The Strand* despite never having a formal contract with them.²⁶

Interest in the psychic and spiritual worlds occupied much of his later years as well as the defense of those wrongly accused. Cases such as George Edalji, accused of cattle-maiming, and Oscar Slater, accused of murder, were celebrated for Conan Doyle's participation, particularly because both these men were found guilty and then cleared.²⁷ In an article in 1907, it was noted that "his successful detective work is especially interesting for reasons which it may be worth to recall. After Sherlock Holmes had become so famous, many persons were ready to believe that the creator of Sherlock could himself do things quite as remarkable."²⁸

Sir Arthur Conan Doyle died on July 7, 1930 at the age of 71. His popularity was, by that time, secured. Christopher Morley stated in his eulogy, published in *The Saturday Review of Literature*, in August 1930, "Those of us

²⁴ This detail is outlined in the first story of the series compiled in *The Return of Sherlock Holmes*, entitled "The Adventure of the Empty House."

²⁵ "Chronicle and Comment" in *The Bookman*, (August 1903), p. 551.

²⁶ Richard Lancelyn Green, "The Strand Magazine (1891-1950)" in *The Sherlock Holmes Journal*, (Vol. 20, Winter 1991, pp. 82-5), p. 84.

who in earliest boyhood gave our hearts to Conan Doyle, and have had from him so many hours of good refreshment, find our affection unshakable. ...Doctor, whaler, writer, speculator, dramatist, historian, war correspondent, spiritualist ... his virtues had always something of the fresh vigor of the amateur, keen, open-minded, flexible, imaginative.”²⁹ It is through his legacy, Sherlock Holmes and Dr. Watson, that Conan Doyle is celebrated.

The inspiration for the character of Sherlock Holmes was credited by Conan Doyle, to Dr. Joseph Bell. Conan Doyle states in an interview with *The Bookman* that Holmes is

the literary embodiment, if I may so express it, of my memory of a professor of medicine at Edinburgh University, who would sit in the patients’ waiting room with a face like a Red Indian and diagnose people, as they came in, before they even had opened their mouths. He would tell them their symptoms, he would give them details of their lives, and he would hardly ever make a mistake. ‘Gentlemen,’ he would say to us students standing around, ‘I am not quite sure whether this man is a cork-cutter or a slater. I observe a slight callus, or hardening, on one side of his forefinger, and a little thickening on the outside his thumb, and that is a sure sign he is either one or the other.’ His great faculty of deduction was at times highly dramatic.³⁰

Conan Doyle used this personality, and what he learned of diagnosis while studying medicine to construct Holmes’s famous methods of deduction. He was a long admirer of detective fiction, particularly those of Poe and Gaboriau but conceived of an improvement to the character of detective. Whereas Dupin and

²⁷ Peter Costello. *The Real World of Sherlock Holmes: The True Crimes Investigated by Arthur Conan Doyle*. (New York: Carroll & Graf Publisher Inc., 1991). This book chronicles many cases Conan Doyle participated in, including the most celebrated case of the time, Jack the Ripper.

²⁸ “Conan Doyle in America” in *The Bookman* (December 1907), p. 346.

²⁹ Christopher Morley, “In Memoriam: Sherlock Holmes” in *The Saturday Review of Literature*, (August 2, 1930), p. 21.

³⁰ Richard Blathwayt, “A Talk with Dr. Conan Doyle,” in *The Bookman*, (May 1892, pp. 50-1) reprinted in Orel, p. 57.

Lecoq came to their conclusions merely by chance, Conan Doyle wanted his detective to arrive at his results through scientific reasoning.³¹ As he was constructing a new detective figure, he recalled this teacher and used his techniques as a model. Conan Doyle further states, “I know nothing about detective work, but theoretically it has always had a great charm for me. The great defect in the detective of fiction is that he obtains results without any obvious reason. That is not fair, it is not art.”³²

His admission of debt to Bell was acknowledged by the doctor himself. Joseph Bell wrote an article “On Sherlock Holmes” which was published first in *The Bookman*. Bell confirms Conan Doyle’s distaste for the contemporary detective fiction:

Every bookstall has its shilling shocker, and every magazine which aims at circulation must have its mystery of robbery or murder. Most of these are poor enough stuff; complicated plots, which can be discounted in the first chapter, extraordinary coincidences, preternaturally gifted detectives, who make discoveries more or less useless by flashes of insight which no one else can understand, become wearisome in their sameness and the interest, such as it is, centres [sic] only in the results and not in the methods.³³

He concluded his essay with an endorsement of Conan Doyle stating that his “education as a student of medicine taught him how to observe, and his practice, both as a general practitioner and a specialist, has been splendid training for a man such as he is, gifted with eyes, memory, and imagination.”³⁴ This

³¹ Cox, p. 118.

³² Blathwayt reprinted in Orel, p. 58.

³³ Joseph Bell, “Mr. Sherlock Holmes” (published in *The Bookman*, reprinted in the introduction of *A Study in Scarlet*, London: Ward, Lock & Bowden Limited, 1894, RBC Call No. Cameron 2A.5), p. x.

³⁴ Joseph Bell, “Mr. Sherlock Holmes” (published in *The Bookman*, reprinted in the introduction of *A Study in Scarlet*, London: Ward, Lock & Bowden Limited, 1894, RBC Call No. Cameron 2A.5), p. x. This essay was reproduced in many volumes of Sherlock Holmes tales. Those in the collection at RBC are outlined in Appendix B.

endorsement from the inspiration and physical embodiment of Holmes was reprinted several times over as an introduction to many volumes of the tales.

The “death” of Sherlock Holmes created a mystique around the character and its history as a cultural phenomenon, but it meant something different for Conan Doyle. his aspiration to become the “Sir Walter Scott of his generation” did not coincide with his reputation as the creator of Sherlock Holmes.³⁵

Historical fiction was Conan Doyle’s passion, and he did not consider the Sherlock Holmes tales to be substantial literary works. They were written primarily for money; they were contemporary; and they called for little scholarship on the part of the writer.³⁶ Mostly, though, Conan Doyle feared that he would become stagnant in the eyes of the literary world:

By the time I had finished [the *Adventures* and *Memoirs*] I was absolutely determined it would be bad policy to do any more Holmes stories. I was still a young man and a young novelist, and I have always noticed that the ruin of every novelist who has come up has been effected by driving him into a groove. The public gets what it likes, and insisting on getting it, makes him go on until he loses his freshness.³⁷

The distraction that the Holmes stories created for Conan Doyle were admitted by him in 1892 in an interview, published in *The Bookman*:

‘I have come to take you in custody for the killing of Sherlock Holmes,’ I said, as soon as we were seated. ‘Ah, but I did it in self-defense,’ he replied. ‘And if you knew the provocation you would agree with me that it was justifiable homicide. When I invented this character I had no idea he would give me so much trouble. But when “Holmes’ Adventures” began to appear in the *Strand Magazine*, its circulation went up by leaps and bounds until it reached the phenomenal figure of four hundred thousand. No sooner had one story appeared than I was set upon

³⁵ Peterson, p. 200.

³⁶ Brian A. Marsh, Introduction to *The Adventures of the Sherlock Holmes*, (s.l.: The Folio Society, 1958).

³⁷ Conan Doyle, as quoted in “Chronicle and Comment” in *The Bookman* (February 1901), p. 551.

for another, and such considerable sums of money were offered by the publishers, indicating a popular demand so imperative and so flattering, that I was tempted repeatedly from other work which I greatly desired to finish. I went on from one case to another until, as you know, there are now two volumes of the *Memoirs and Adventures of Sherlock Holmes*. At last I killed him, and if I had not done so I almost think he would have killed me.³⁸

Conan Doyle's frankness as early as 1892 about the death of his character gives the impression that he did not take the Holmes stories seriously. John Dickson Carr, one of Conan Doyle's first biographers, made much of Conan Doyle's dislike of the Holmes stories, asserting that he *only* wrote the stories for money.³⁹ However, given Conan Doyle's ability to write and his conscientiousness about originality and cohesiveness of plot, as well as the quality of the tales throughout the canon, it is more likely that Conan Doyle simply did not want to only write about Holmes.

Had he simply wanted money, he could have continued writing Holmes stories, becoming less and less well written. On the contrary, Conan Doyle commented that "the difficulty of the Holmes work was that every story really needed as clear-cut and original a plot as a longish book would do. One cannot without effort spin plots at such a rate. They are apt to become thin or to break."⁴⁰ His pride in the quality of writing could not allow him to write substandard work, despite the promise of ready money.

Conan Doyle's reputation centers upon the character of Sherlock Holmes. The creation of Holmes and the decision to do away with him are central aspects to the development of the character. Conan Doyle's own expectations and

³⁸ "Conan Doyle in his Study: Theory of Sherlock Holmes concerning the Whitechapel Murder," in *Cincinnati Commercial Gazette* (10 June 1894, p. 17), reprinted in Orel, pp. 71-72.

³⁹ Carr, p. 65.

attitudes played a decisive role in the cultural phenomenon that emerged from the tales. From the beginning of the publication of the short stories compiled in the volumes *The Adventures* and *Memoirs*, the reading public was instrumental in the continuation and inculcation of the cultural icon.

The Readers

“My mind ... rebels at stagnation. give me problems, give me work, give me the most obtuse cryptogram or the most intricate analysis, and I am in my own proper atmosphere. I can dispense then with artificial stimulants. But I abhor the dull routine of existence. I crave for mental exaltation. That is why I have chosen my own particular profession, or rather created it, for I am the only one in the world.”

The Sign of Four

The popularity of the Sherlock Holmes tales was grounded in an increasingly interested public. Literary rates soared as a new emphasis on education flowered and the process of industrialization neared completion of its first tumultuous period. The setting and characters in the Holmes tales were well received because they were well known to a market who was clamoring for fiction to read.

Both the setting and characters of the Holmes tales were instrumental in their popularity. The setting, contemporary London, was familiar to the reading audience of *The Strand*. Holmes was participating in the world of these readers.⁴¹ This setting aids in the identification of the reader with Holmes because the reader “particularly the London public, could live through Sherlock

⁴⁰ Conan Doyle, *Memories and Adventures*, p. 115.

⁴¹ Stephen Knight, *Form and Ideology in Crime Fiction*, (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1980), p. 94.

Holmes's Adventures in imagination, without making any great change in their normal way of life.⁴²

The contemporary nature of the Holmes setting is particularly obvious in the new methods of communication and travel used throughout the tales.

Communication was achieved through telegrams – the Postmaster General instituted a national system in 1870 -, the newspapers with personal columns and advertisements, archives such as Lloyd's register to obtain information, and of course the Baker Street Irregulars, a motley crew of young boys able to pass unnoticed, gather and relay information. Travel was done by hansom, river transport, the Underground, and the often-used railway. Grand hotels and a myriad of foreign visitors confirm that travel was commonplace.⁴³

The characters constructed in the Sherlock Holmes tales also provide a bridge for the imagination of the readers. Dr. Watson is the "reader's representative in the story. While he lacks Holmes's transcendent rational powers, Watson has all the endearing qualities of courage, energy, compassion, patriotism, and loyalty, as well as an ordinary intelligence. A kindly and admiring middle-class gentleman, Watson connects the reader to the strange and powerful genius of the detective."⁴⁴ Holmes himself was a more self-aware, modern character than previous fictional detectives. His ability to mingle with all walks of life in an uncontrollable, burgeoning London was tempered with his

⁴² Nordon, p. 247.

⁴³ Nordon, p. 250.

⁴⁴ Terry Heller, *Critical Survey of Mystery and Detective Fiction*, Vol. 2: Authors D-Hi, (Frank Magill, ed. Pasadena: Salem Press, 1988, pp. 529-537), p. 532.

devotion to traditional values. Holmes was an instrument of control and was armed with the newly-emergent science and liberal hopes.⁴⁵

Perhaps more than anything else, Holmes was of the time. Conan Doyle used a literary technique of writing about the near past, keeping the tales distinct from those of historians, and at the same not mixing reality too exactly with his fiction. By the use of simple repetition and setting details that were not threatening, Conan Doyle relied upon the atmosphere and spirit of the time. This gave readers a feeling of being Holmes's contemporary and touched on personal memories of a recent past.⁴⁶

The contemporary nature of the Holmes tales can be seen through a breakdown of the cases as they happened chronologically:

Table 1: Number of Sherlock Holmes's Investigations⁴⁷

1875-79	2
1880-5	6
1886-91	23
1892-94	2*
1895-7	14
1898-1904	11
1905-14	2

* disappearance of Holmes

In conjunction with the contemporaneousness of the tales was the chronological life of Holmes. He had cases where he was a young man, his ancestors and family members are referred to casually, a year when he retires, and a re-emergence

⁴⁵ Kelvin Jones, "The Victorian Detective" in *The Sherlock Holmes Journal*, (Vol. 12, Winter 1975, pp. 56-8), p. 57.

⁴⁶ Nordon, pp. 265-66.

⁴⁷ Nordon, p. 265. Based upon H.W. Bell's *Sherlock Holmes and Doctor Watson: the Chronology of their Adventures*, 1932. The chronology of the tales is by far the most controversial aspect of the Sherlock Holmes tales, and many Sherlockians have chimed in their opinion about the exact dates of the cases. For this purpose, though, a simple breakdown can

from that retirement.⁴⁸ Conan Doyle could have done this out of a respect for historical accounts, where people age and live off their previous experiences. No matter what the purpose by Conan Doyle, the result was a character often believed to be real with which readers could pass through time.

The surge in education and literature was an essential feature to this early craze over the Sherlock Holmes tales. The 1870 Forester Act in England, mandating elementary education on a national scale, was a singular impetus for the increase in literacy.⁴⁹ This act made it compulsory for children under the age of ten to attend school, and although fees associated with school were not abolished until 1891, it had a direct affect on educational expenditures.⁵⁰ Education expenditures increased £ 80.1 million from the period 1887 to 1930 in England, increasing from 8% of the total expenditures to 19.7% in 1930.⁵¹ In the United States, illiteracy rates during the same period decreased from 17.0% of the population in 1880 to 4.3% in 1930.⁵² Both statistics demonstrate an increased emphasis on education and a subsequent larger public from which to market the emerging new fiction.

The creation of public or municipal libraries during this period also had a broadening affect on the reading public. Libraries allowed the newly literate masses, who may be unable to buy books to borrow them, having a subsequent

suffice to demonstrate the period in which Holmes was active. Any further postulation would be unwarranted given the many contradictory assessments.

⁴⁸ Cox, p. 131. Holmes's life story is also a matter of great discussion among Sherlockians, dueling over questions such as where he attended college.

⁴⁹ Nordon, p. 248.

⁵⁰ Joseph McAleer, *Popular Reading and Publishing in Britain, 1914 – 1950*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), pp. 13-14.

⁵¹ B.R. Mitchell, *British Historical Statistics*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1988), pp. 612-3.

impact on readership.⁵³ In addition, an abolition of the “taxes on knowledge” or taxes associated with printed words, and falling prices all stimulated an increasing reader base. Two kinds of publishing emerged: wholesome, uplifting religious tracts and purely commercial or entrepreneurial endeavors.⁵⁴

Other social changes accompanied this change in the reading public. The end of the first phase of industrialization was accompanied by many economic and social changes, including an organization of the work force, a separation between work and home space, a fixed length to the work day, and the creation of a leisure time or which common men and women could fill easily with reading. These changes were accompanied by the creation of large, bustling urban centers. For instance, an 1891 census showed a population of 4,300,000 in London, close to one seventh of the population of the British Isles.⁵⁵

The establishment of a mass reading public provided the forum for the Sherlock Holmes tales, but it does not account for their popularity. London did not bear the weight of the soaring population rate alone. Suburban areas began to team with workers traveling to and fro on railways to conduct their workdays in the city. A need for railway literature stimulated one of the most successful popular magazines of the day, *The Strand*.⁵⁶

The Strand Magazine was the invention of George Newnes, one of the first and most successful of a new kind of publisher. He founded a magazine called

⁵² *Historical Statistics of the United States: Colonial Times to 1970, Part 2*, (Washington: Dept. of Commerce, 1975), p. 382

⁵³ Frederick G. Kilgour, *The Evolution of the Book*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), p. 130.

⁵⁴ McAleer, p. 12.

⁵⁵ Nordon, pp. 247-9.

Tit-Bits in 1881 which was a 'snippet paper' with easy-to-read contents.

Following the success of *Tit-Bits*, Newnes founded a magazine that would appeal to a more middle-class audience without the pretension of earlier literary periodicals. *The Strand* started in 1890, and its first issue sold 300,000 copies and cost sixpence. *The Strand* was widely distributed through railway bookstalls, catching the commuting white-collar market. It imitated many of the magazines already popular in America, with an emphasis on being an illustrated monthly.⁵⁷ In doing so, *The Strand* created a market and stimulated a series of rivals.⁵⁸ All the while, the public having a taste for reading, clamored for more.

The relationship between *The Strand* and the Holmes stories was evidenced by the editors' willingness to pay anything for Conan Doyle to keep producing tales. But there was also an alliance between *The Strand* and its readers. In response to the death of Holmes in 1892, the editors stated "There will be only a temporary interval in the Sherlock Holmes stories... A new series will commence in an early number. Meanwhile, powerful detective stories will be contributed by other eminent writers."⁵⁹ While on the surface, this statement appears to be merely an advertising gimmick for the magazine, *The Strand* did not suffer great readership losses following the death of Holmes, and when Conan Doyle penned another Holmes tale in 1901, they easily had a market still willing to purchase their magazine. The Holmes tales may have elevated the sales of *The Strand* beyond initial expectations, but publishing cunning and craft kept

⁵⁶ Nicholas Utechin, "'The Strand' Remembered: Nicholas Utechin interviews Richard Osborne" in *The Sherlock Holmes Journal*, (Vol. 20, Winter 1991, pp. 85-89), p. 85.

⁵⁷ Knight, p. 70.

⁵⁸ Utechin, p. 86.

⁵⁹ Baring-Gould, *The Annotated Sherlock Holmes*, p. 15.

the magazine strong during the eight year interim between death and *The Hound of the Baskervilles*.

The emergence of professional journals of authorship such as *The Bookman* drew a connection between reader and the literature as well. *The Bookman* debuted in the United States when Frank Dodd secured the American rights from Sir William Robertson Nicolls, who launched a magazine under that same title in England in 1891. The New York *Bookman* has been credited with coining the term “best seller.”⁶⁰

The American *Bookman* at the reappearance of Sherlock Holmes in 1901 demonstrates the reader’s investment in the Holmes tales. Beginning in February 1901, discussion regarding the resuscitation of Holmes, speculating on the content of the tale, and questioning the authorship of the newest Holmes tale, *The Hound of the Baskervilles*, credited by Conan Doyle to Fletcher Robinson as inspiration, took place.⁶¹ All point to an anticipatory audience who not only wanted to read Holmes but wanted to read about Holmes. Following the first installment, the editors asserted,

We believe that the interest of the reading public in Sherlock Holmes is increasing rather than diminishing as time goes on. One proof of this is found in the fact Dr. Doyle has been absolutely

⁶⁰ Robert A. Colby, “Author’s Unite! An Anglo-American Alliance” in *Victorian Periodicals Review*, (Vol. XXVI, no. 3, Fall 1993, pp. 125-32), p. 130.

⁶¹ “The question of the wisdom of resuscitating Sherlock Holmes is one to be decided by Dr. Doyle himself. If Holmes is to be taken up again simply to arouse a little additional interest for some ignoble potboiler, then we devoutly hope that he may be allowed to rest in peace. If, however, Dr. Doyle has any more real stories to tell we think that he cannot begin too soon” in “Chronicle and Comment” in *The Bookman*, (February 1901), p. 553. In the July 1901 edition, they announced the appearance of a new story in *The Strand* in September, without knowing what the story is, but that they knew of no resuscitation of Holmes and assert that it could be the mentioned but untold tales in *The Adventures* and *The Memoirs*, in “The Reappearance of Sherlock Holmes” in *The Bookman*, (July 1901), p. 409. After the initial appearance of *The Hound of the Baskervilles* in September, the discussion centered on whether or not Conan Doyle or Fletcher Robinson was the author, in “The New Sherlock Holmes Story” in *The Bookman*, (October 1901), p. 110.

forced to write another Holmes story, and that they serial publication of it in *The Strand* has made the issue of the magazine jump to thirty thousand copies beyond its normal circulation.⁶²

In the following issue of *The Bookman*, the editors produced their own theory of the mystery. The key to the story, they insisted, was the theft of Sir Henry Baskerville's shoes, stating that "To anyone acquainted with the methods of Sherlock Holmes, or perhaps it should be said of the Sherlock Holmes stories, it was evident that this at least was no false clue introduced for the sole purpose of leading astray the mind of the reader."⁶³ They concluded that the shoes were stolen to test whether or not Sir Henry Baskerville was cursed with hound's feet as other Baskervilles had similarly been cursed! Following the publication of this theory, *The Bookman* received numerous letters containing theories postulated by readers themselves, some of them "far more ingenious than our own."⁶⁴ When *The Bookman's* theory was proven wrong by the final submission of the story, they acknowledged that their theory was "proven very far wrong; but the number of letters which came to this office contradicting it, served to show how widespread was the interesting the serial."⁶⁵ Above all, an endorsement by the editors show the appeal of the stories had reached beyond the teeming masses and had already become a literature of public interest:

We don't mind admitting confidentially that the Editors are not always quite in sympathy with each other's individual tastes and preferences and fads – which is a good thing for THE BOOKMAN, since it ensures variety... But when it comes to Sherlock Holmes, then --! A brisk hum of confluent voices penetrates the inner office.⁶⁶

⁶² "Chronicle and Comment" in *The Bookman*, (January 1902), p. 446.

⁶³ "The Footprints of the Baskerville Hound" in *The Bookman*, (February 1902), p. 554.

⁶⁴ "Raffles and Sherlock Holmes" in *The Bookman*, (March 1902), p. 551. Pearson, p. 356.

⁶⁵ "Chronicle and Comment" in *The Bookman*, (May 1902), pp. 215-7.

⁶⁶ "Chronicle and Comment" in *The Bookman*, (April 1902), p. 114.

In celebration of its completion, they “intend to enjoy themselves hugely over the whole thing.”⁶⁷

In another example, *The Bookman*, in announcing the new series of short stories, compiled as *The Return of Sherlock Holmes*, included a reprint of the cryptogram appearing in “The Adventure of the Dancing Men” and challenged their readers to solve it.⁶⁸ It is apparent through this and earlier examples that the reading public became involved in these tales. The text of the tales themselves, including the setting and characters assisted in that involvement, and Conan Doyle’s skill as a writer allowed the setting and those characters to come to life in remarkable yet familiar ways. *The Strand* transmitted the stories to trainloads of working people monthly, and *The Bookman* and others like it confirmed a thriving interest. Other themes underwrote these stories and made them not only applicable to the turn of the century audience but have carried them through to today.

The tales themselves encompassed ideological foundations that appealed to this new reading public. An emphasis on science, Victorian morals and social order, and the genre of detective fiction all had attractive elements and combined were irresistible. The scientific world had undergone a period of discovery and rediscovery at the end of the century. New methods were being tested and applauded for explaining many of the mysteries of the universe. Victorian ideals, on the other hand, faced many challenges in the socio-economic turmoil of industrialization. The genre of detective fiction served on one level to control

⁶⁷ “Chronicle and Comment” in *The Bookman*, (April 1902), p. 114.

what was seemingly uncontrollable, to harness threats to those ideals. In the Sherlock Holmes tales, Conan Doyle uses each to a positive effect, reassuring his readers of the wonders of science and the sanctity of Victorian goodness, through the body of the detective.

The importance of the scientific method of Holmes cannot be overstated. Holmes demonstrated emerging sciences, most notably chemistry and natural science. Rationalist models were being presented as answers to the many vagaries of the universe. The Holmes tales involved the interest in science already present in the public.⁶⁹

For Sherlock Holmes, science was a solution. His attitude was based upon two premises not foreign to readers: he believed in a rational scientific idea that events are linked together unaccidentally and, in cohesion with that, an individualistic notion that a single inquirer could establish those links.⁷⁰ Most often Holmes pointed to things that were obvious, everyday occurrences, patterns of behaviors or objects, that when studied scientifically, disclosed hidden meaning. This approach could easily transfer to a public intrigued with the powers of science, but yet not fully cognizant of its rules, would practice a pseudo-science of their own through Holmes.⁷¹ Conan Doyle was therefore part of a late nineteenth century movement that popularized science, which ran neatly in conjunction with the increasing emphasis on education and the spread of reading culture.⁷²

⁶⁸ "The Return of Sherlock Holmes" in *The Bookman*, (August 1903), p. 551

⁶⁹ Nordon, p. 244-5.

⁷⁰ Knight, p. 68.

⁷¹ Knight, p. 77.

⁷² Nordon, pp. 246-47. Such science fiction classics as H.G. Wells' *The Time Machine* (1895), and

Science was presented in the Holmes tales as the “solution.” Whiles this usually took the form of deduction, clearly Holmes’s “prowess is as marvelous as the power of science, which many people hoped would lead to a material and spiritual improvement of human condition, and Conan Doyle first among them.”⁷³ That Conan Doyle himself was a man of science underlay this emphasis on the rational explanation and lent credence to his fictional character.

The decay of Victorian morality was accompanied by the uncertainty of the future as they headed into a new century. Conan Doyle’s adherence to the code of his childhood and his incorporation of that code into his stories occurring at the end of the century comforted readers by reassuring their own values, being threatened by the traumatic changes in social and economic structure. Conan Doyle used the dismay of late nineteenth and early twentieth century society to reaffirm the morality that he saw as central to human behavior.

These themes are apparent in the structure of the stories and the character of Sherlock Holmes. The tales as a whole echo the moral conscience that dominated the Victorian period and provided unity across stories. Censoriousness about morals was a prevalent characteristic of the Victorian value system.⁷⁴ The Holmes tales correspond to a moral code, and Holmes’s character is considered a model for moral conduct. This, even with his seven-percent solution and his occasional decision to break the law in order to serve his client,

Conan Doyle’s *The Lost World* (1912) enjoyed immense popularity at this time.

⁷³ Nordon, p. 247.

⁷⁴ Nordon, p.256-7.

transferred to middle-class virtues regarding truth and justice, equality of those in need of help, and a disregard for romantic sentimentality.⁷⁵

The Strand represented an appropriate vehicle for this kind of literature. The content of the magazine displayed its own ideology, including biographies, tales of courage and adventures, bourgeois morality, and features on new machines. Each component combined projected a family magazine. Men, who bought it at the railway, were comfortable about bringing it into their home, and features were written directly to housewives and children. The cover itself displayed the underlying ideology of respectable success: “The busy and fashionable street had rich symbolic meaning: it stretched from the city where the purchasers mostly worked to the West End where they might one day aspire to live.” (see plate 1)⁷⁶

The morality of the Sherlock Holmes tales had a psychological affect on its readers as well. Because Conan Doyle neglected to include the masses of unemployed and indigent, who might pose a threat to society, his stories do not constantly remind his audience of that possibility. The construction of the villain as person who is either a profession or from the privileged class, rather than the dispossessed provided a buffer from the reality that those who have real cause are not the villains Holmes is facing. In the Holmes tales neither victim nor villain question the existing social order. Instead, it is their immorality that makes them evil.⁷⁷ In addition to easing middle class minds, this construction extended to lower classes. They were not cast in the typical role of criminal and could see

⁷⁵ Nordon, p. 257; Peterson, pp. 216-7.

⁷⁶ Knight, pp. 70-71.

⁷⁷ Nordon, p. 252.

people above them on the social ladder depicted as immoral, most often because of greed. Of the few members of the lower classes portrayed there is a healthy mix of decadence and decency.

The detective plays the role of moral agent in Conan Doyle's Victorian England. The psychological ease extends beyond the socio-economic tensions to a more all encompassing threat to society: the unknown or unexplainable. This is a common thread that appeared in Edgar Allen Poe, Robert Louis Stevenson and Conan Doyle. The unknown was expressed as "forces being dealt with in stories such as ["The Speckled Band"] are irrational, terrifying and uncontrollable. None of the authors... feel they can allow these subliminal forces their full reign. The ape must be brought back to captivity, the snake beaten through the ventilator, and the Hyde in Dr. Jekyll extinguished. And the detective provides the expiation of these forces." ⁷⁸ While acknowledging these new uncontrollable forces, those the readers *suspect* exist, these detective achieve control before any further damage can be done. They reestablish the acceptable order.

Detective fiction, in the hands of Conan Doyle, thus, married these two components, science and morality, in a successful way. Conan Doyle's use of the detective genre successfully combined his interest in both the scientific and the moral. The detective played a central role in Victorian ideology, rescuing values from those who would destroy them. The manifestation of crime played out in the detective novel was a "manifestation of potential chaos in the self and society,

⁷⁸ Jones, p. 58. Edgar Allen Poe's *Murder in the Rue Morgue* and R.L. Stevenson's *Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde* are the two other tales mentioned here that exemplify the message of detective as control mechanism.

but the detective asserts reason's power over this element, reassuring the reader of control over the self and safety within the social order."⁷⁹ The genre itself went through a transformation at this time as the formula consolidated into its twentieth-century incarnation. Conan Doyle's aptitude for this formula created a bridge between nineteenth- and twentieth-century detective fiction.⁸⁰

The formula presented in the Holmes tales includes such components as a passion for solving the problems and interest in little else, an aloofness from ordinary life but not values, an attachment to individuals, such as Watson, an adequate concern for the victims, and a devotion to justice as compared to the villains who display a devotion only to themselves. Sherlock Holmes battles crime to preserve order and because he enjoys the exercise of solving problems.⁸¹

Similarly, Watson, as narrator plays several important functions in the formula. As narrator, Watson is able to conceal what goes on in Holmes's mind while simulating a relationship between the reader and Holmes. This allows for a building to a dramatic climax to the stories as Holmes reveals the solution to each puzzle.⁸² Watson's plain but honest characteristics also make it easy for readers to associate themselves with him, and his lack of detecting "powers" reassure readers if they have not beaten Holmes to the solution.

One further aspect of the detective formula that distinguished his work from that of his predecessors is the inclusion of motivation. *A Study in Scarlet* is pivotal in this respect as the motivation for the murder is part of the

⁷⁹ Heller, p. 529.

⁸⁰ Peterson, p. 197.

⁸¹ Heller, p. 531.

⁸² Heller, pp. 531-2.

main plot.⁸³ Later Holmes stories integrated this feature more completely to make motivation a seamless element in the story.

Conan Doyle's success in the mystery genre was acknowledged at the time. "Shilling shockers" were flooding the market. As noted, though, in *The Bookman* in 1901, "think of the thousands of tales of detection which have been printed during the last fifty years, and then think of the few which have been really worth the while, which have meant anything when they appeared or have remained any length of time in memory."⁸⁴ Only Conan Doyle, Poe and Gaboriau are remembered as the "fathers" of detective fiction. Conan Doyle adopted the genre created by the other two and established a formula that still amuses and enthralls today.

The role of the audience's context is clear. Many socio-economic factors played a part in the popularity of the Holmes tales. Without a receptive and involved audience, these tales could have ended as they had just begun. Increased emphasis on education, resulting in rising literacy, changed work and leisure patterns all participated in the creation of a receptive audience. Magazines such as *The Strand* brought it to the audience, and *The Bookman* further stimulated interest. It was, however, the blending of the new and the old, in the science and morals of the tales, crafted in skillful detective writing that kept the audience fascinated, asking for more and purchasing more. In an advertisement for a volume entitled *The Complete Sherlock Holmes Tales*, produced by Doubleday, Doran in 1930, it states:

⁸³ Cox, p. 119.

⁸⁴ "Chronicle and Comment" in *The Bookman*, (February 1901), p. 553.

As a tribute to the late Conan Doyle the whole thrilling career of Sherlock Holmes and all of his adventures in crime have been gathered together, re-edited and put into two comfortable and compact volumes in a memorable edition. Practically submerged by the tremendous flood of modern detective mysteries, these well-known stories, written by the dean of detective fiction, lose none of their thrill in a second reading.⁸⁵

This ad appeals not only to a new generation of readers, but to a generation brought up by Sherlock Holmes. The appeal has yet to waiver.

The Publishers

“Finally returning to the hotel, ... I lay upon the sofa and tried to interest myself in a yellow-backed novel. The puny plot of the story was so thin, however, when compared to the deep mystery through which we were groping, and I found my attention wander so continually from the fiction to the fact, that I at last flung it across the room and gave myself up entirely to a consideration of the events of the day.”

“The Boscombe Valley Mystery”

The publishers experienced a burst of productivity during the period between 1887 and 1930. Publishers and agents began to work internationally and the authors’ creations were reproduced on both sides of the Atlantic.⁸⁶ The Sherlock Holmes tales provide an informative window into this world of publishers including the battle over copyright that sprung up as a result of this explosion of publishing.

Mechanical innovations played a crucial role in the increased production of reading materials, including books, magazines and newspapers. Throughout the nineteenth century inventions flourished. The first decade saw eight patents

⁸⁵ “Notes on New Books” in *the Bookman*, (September 1930), p. xx.

⁸⁶ Colby, p. 128.

registered while the last a startling 1,498.⁸⁷ Amidst this, the mechanization of the printing process had taken place, touching every aspect of book production, including typesetting, bookbinding and the photomechanical process for illustrations: the rotary press, feeding paper continuously off a role, came in 1865, an efficient thread sewing machine in 1878; photomechanical illustrations in 1880, mechanized typesetting in 1890, and a case-making machine in the late 1890s.⁸⁸ While these inventions effected the way books were made, earlier inventions including book cloth in the early 1820s and the tooling of goldleaf on book cloth in the 1830s, effected they way they looked.⁸⁹

The effects of these innovations was a huge increase in the number of books published.

Table 2: Books published in the United States 1890 - 1930⁹⁰

Year	New Books	New Editions	Total
1890	4,113	446	4,559
1930	8,134	1,893	10,027
Difference	4,021	1,447	5,468

While the incline year to year is not steady, the overall average increase in the number of books published, including new books and new editions is 137 titles per year over 40 years. These numbers do not include the vast array of reprinting done. Those statistics would demonstrate the sheer volume of publishing done at

⁸⁷ Kilgour, p. 115.

⁸⁸ Esther Potter, "The Development of Publisher's Bookbindings in the Nineteenth Century" in *Journal of the Printing Historical Society*, (No. 28, 1999, pp. 71-93), p. 93; Kilgour, p. 114.

⁸⁹ Potter, pp. 77-81.

⁹⁰ *Historical Statistics of the United States*, p. 88 The statistics represented here have been abstracted from a complete year by year listing. The inclusion of pamphlets before the twentieth century and exclusion, aside from total values, from 1920 to 1928, and then completely after 1928 may have served to slightly inflate the values for the early date.

this time. Corresponding values are likely for England. Prices for material were decreasing and output was increasing throughout this time.⁹¹

The creation of “libraries” or series created from publishers’ cupboards was a new phenomenon at this time. Several examples exist in the Rare Book Collection at Wilson Library Sherlock Holmes collection of the reprinting of the tales within a “library,” such as “The Strand Library” (RBC Call No. 2A.19), “Once a Week Library” (RBC Call No. 2A.12, see plate 2) and the “Longman’s Colonial Library” (RBC Call No. 2A.33, see plate 3). Libraries provided cohesion for readers, and guaranteed sales for publishers. The use of Sherlock Holmes could be an attractive marketing tool.

Copyright was a hotly contested issue during this time, particularly as it pertained to the United States. Prior to 1891, American publishers freely pirated English works without compensation. This angered English writers and provided insurmountable competition to their American counterparts. Literary piracy was not a new invention, but the explosion of readers and publishers in the nineteenth century multiplied opportunities for exploitation.⁹² Early American legislation was unfavorable to persons who were neither citizens nor residents of the United States. In addition, when copyright was enforced, it was most often left to state enforcement.⁹³

⁹¹ See Simon Eliot, *Some Patterns and Trends in British Publishing 1800-1919*. Occasional Papers of the Bibliographical Society, No. 8. (London: The Bibliographical Society, 1994) for a detailed statistical analysis of publishing in England during the period. Eliot analyzes not only output, but also subject and price.

⁹² Colby, p. 126.

⁹³ Colin Prestige, “Conan Doyle and Copyright” in *The Sherlock Holmes Journal*, (Vol. 14, Summer 1980, pp. 84-5), pp. 84-5.

By 1883, societies of authors on both sides of the Atlantic were formed to address the copyright issue. American and British societies were moving in tandem, helping speed the process of legislation as authors began to belong and to be honored across societies.⁹⁴ The Chace Act of 1891 relieved some of these concerns. It provided legal protection to European books “provided they were citizens or subjects of a foreign state which permitted to Americans the benefit of copyright on substantially the same basis as its own citizens or belonged to a nation where there was an international agreement for reciprocity.”⁹⁵ It remains evidence of the culmination of a joint campaign of American and English authors, working together to provide fair compensation and a more competitive playing field.⁹⁶

The Sherlock Holmes tales straddle this copyright debate. Conan Doyle received protection only for his post-1891 works, which left *A Study in Scarlet* and *The Sign of the Four* wide open for piracy. His attitude, recorded in his autobiography, displays an understanding of the arena in which he was operating, as he notes:

British literature had a considerable vogue in the United States at this time for the simple reason that there was no copyright and they had not to pay for it. It was hard on British authors, but far harder on Americans ones, since they were exposed to this devastating competition. Like all national sins it brought its own punishment not only to American authors, who were guiltless, but to the publishers themselves, for what belongs to everyone belongs to no one, and they could not bring out a decent edition without being undersold. I have seen some of my early American editions which might have been printed on the paper that shopmen use for parcels. One good result, however, from my point of view was that a British author, if he had anything in him, soon won recognition over there,

⁹⁴ Colby, pp. 125-6.

⁹⁵ Prestige, p. 85.

⁹⁶ Colby, p. 125.

and afterwards, when the Copyright Act was passed, he had his audience all ready for him⁹⁷

The importance of copyright at this time was that it changed. Particularly the multiple renditions of the first two Holmes tales, not protected by copyright, demonstrates the thirst for American publishing.⁹⁸ Of the 160 items examined, there were 92 reproductions of the first two tales. For the *Adventures* and *Memoirs*, which first appeared in the *The Strand* after copyright protection, there were 54, and these short stories had enjoyed immediate success. That these two tales were continuously reproduced demonstrates a publishing culture that sought not only to provide ample reading material for its audience, but to do so as inexpensively as possible.⁹⁹

The study of physical objects provides insights into cultural structures in any group of people. Clifford Geertz notes, in his *Interpretation of Cultures*, that culture is the residue from social action and that objects, among other things, can display that residue.¹⁰⁰ The manipulation of the Sherlock Holmes tales as they were made available to an eager audience demonstrate insights into the publishing culture of the time. Through cover design and illustrations, publishers not only manipulated the form of the book to suit their immediate and future needs, but also served to present in the collective consciousness of Anglo-American culture a symbol that would last over a century.

⁹⁷ Conan Doyle, *Memories and Adventures*, pp. 92-3.

⁹⁸ Donald A. Redmond, *Sherlock Holmes Among the Pirates: Copyright and Conan Doyle in America, 1890-1930*, (New York: Greenwood Press, 1990), p. xvi.

⁹⁹ These statistics are based upon the examination of 159 texts housed at the University of North Carolina – Chapel Hill Rare Book Collection. While this represents only a subset of the total publications of the Holmes tales during the period 1887-1930, it is thought of as representative. A full descriptive bibliography of the holdings is located in Appendix B.

¹⁰⁰ Clifford Geertz, "Thick Description: Toward an Interpretive Theory of Culture" in *The Interpretation of Cultures*, (New York: Basic Books, Inc., Publishers, 1973), p. 17.

Technical innovations had secured the use of cloth as an acceptable way to present finished bindings. Cloth bindings evolved from the plain boards-and-label format that publishers were producing for ready-sale. Initially books were not uniformly bound. Booksellers had plain bindings for customers not interested in the extra cost of an individualized or special binding.¹⁰¹ The gradual displacement of semi-permanent boards with paper labels to brightly colored cloths decorated with gold and other colors took place from 1837 to 1901.¹⁰² Following 1901 a similar transformation to the soft cover books took place for the same market.

Cloth binding became acceptable and, as mechanized increased, preferable for less expensive productions. Soft cover bindings were used for smaller and cheaper works, but for those more substantial in size the cloth binding worked nicely. By 1850 cloth had become a normal edition binding for publishers. In addition, it became common practice to bind an entire edition in an identical binding, and as mechanization continued, it became economical to do this.¹⁰³

As this binding technique gained prominence, it began to bear decorations which served as advertisements, either for the publisher, the series, or the content. Numerous examples of each style of decoration appear in the publications of Sherlock Holmes (see Appendix B). Because the cover design was considered a form of advertisement, publishers made decisions about design and economical investment. The advances in making mass-production possible only enhanced the publisher's desire to take advantage of the advertisement potential.

¹⁰¹ Potter, p. 72.

¹⁰² Michael Sadler, forward. *Victorian Fiction: An Exhibition of Original Editions*, by John Carter. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1947), p. iv.

The majority of cheap cloth-bound editions with decorative covers appeared prior to World War I. This would eventually be replaced by the illustrated dustwrapper, which was even less expensively produced.¹⁰⁴

Using blocks on many different works in a series was one way to save on the expense of designing and cutting of blocks.¹⁰⁵ The binding designs used by the time of the publication of the Sherlock Holmes novels were simpler than those of early lavish designs. This was due to the transformation from the three-decker novel (a novel published in three volumes) to a single volume novel decreased the amount invested into each title. Essentially three-deckers were able to bring in three times the revenue, but as libraries were buying one volume reprints, which appeared soon after the initial publication, the three-decker died out, and binding decorations simplified.¹⁰⁶

Advertisements were an important part of the publishing industry. Almost half of the books examined (79 of 160) contained advertisements. Publishers were inventive in their placement of advertisements as well. Typically they would include the advertising pages in the back of the book, but endpapers were used as advertising space, the verso of the title page or the half-title, or pages preceeding the title page were all used. The book as a vehicle for advertisement did not begin at this time, but it was used a great deal.

¹⁰³ Potter, p. 84.

¹⁰⁴ Charles Gullans and John Espey, "American Trade Bindings and Their Designers, 1880 – 1915" in *Collectible Books: Some New Paths*, (New York: R.R. Bowker Company, 1979, pp. 32-67), p. 35; Vesta Lee Gordon, "American Decorative Trade Bindings, 1880-1910" in *AB Bookman's Weekly*, (August 1, 1988, pp. 305-310), p. 305; Cornelius Helling, "About Some Remarkable Holmesian Jackets and Covers" in *The Sherlock Holmes Journal*, (Vol. 5, Spring 1961, pp. 53-4), p. 53.

¹⁰⁵ Potter, p. 84.

¹⁰⁶ Potter, p. 90.

Illustrations provide another interesting avenue into the study of the book as object. The illustrations of the Sherlock Holmes tales are central to the history of its publication and the creation of a cultural icon. Visual imagery was there at its inception. Despite the problem with illustrated fiction, the supplanting of mental imagery transmitted from author to reader through the written word, the Sherlock Holmes tales are an example of the successful use of illustrations to enrich and encode tales for a culture ready to receive them.¹⁰⁷ The impact of illustrations did not escape Conan Doyle. In an interview in 1921 he commented “if my little creation of Sherlock Holmes has survived longer perhaps than it deserved, I consider that it is very largely due to those gentlemen who have, apart from myself, associated themselves with him.”¹⁰⁸

One of primary impetuses in the creation of *The Strand* was its illustrated aspect. Despite competition from many other imitations, *The Strand* succeeded because of both its quality of text and its illustrations. The imperative that there be an illustration on every opening page was a feat. The early cost of illustrations was prohibitive for such lavish use. W.H. Boot was appointed as art editor because he studied printing processes and helped make the illustrated of *The Strand's* subtitle, *An Illustrated Monthly*, a reality.¹⁰⁹

There were a number of different artists employed to illustrate the Sherlock Holmes tales in the first forty years of its incarnation. Scholars differ on the exact count, but from the collection at the University of North Carolina –

¹⁰⁷ Michael Pointer, *The Sherlock Holmes File*, (New York: Clarkson N. Potter, Inc., 1976), p. 8.

¹⁰⁸ as quoted in Pointer, p. 21.

¹⁰⁹ Pointer, p. 8. Green, “The Strand”, p. 82.

Chapel Hill, seventeen different artists are present.¹¹⁰ Two artists stand out, however, as shapers of the Sherlock Holmes image in the mind of readers.

Sidney Paget immortalized Holmes on the pages of *The Strand* from 1891 to 1904, stopping after the stories of *The Return of Sherlock Holmes* were complete. Paget did not take cues from Conan Doyle's text in the drawing of the character, instead using his brother Walter, who *The Strand* originally thought they were commissioning for the job, as a model. He is less famous for his depiction of Holmes, however, than for his feel for the time. Misty, shadowy pictures depicting Victorian England with the effects of a gaslight, horse-drawn world immortalized the Paget pictures by confirming the setting within which Holmes and Watson operated.¹¹¹

As the stories grew in popularity, they also moved in stature in the magazine, and "The Final Problem" graduated to the first story in the magazine (see plate 4). This gave Paget the opportunity to draw a full-page frontispiece, his first, one of the most enduring images of Sherlock Holmes as he battles with Professor Moriarty at the Reichenbach falls. *The Hound of the Baskervilles* included eight frontispieces in nine of the installments, for which Paget produced all the art. Conan Doyle, when asked who he wanted to illustrate his story *The Hound of the Baskervilles* assured the editors of *The Strand* that Paget should do it.¹¹²

¹¹⁰ See Appendix B. Pearson notes that 15 artists drew Sherlock Holmes, Vincent Starrett in his *The Private Life of Sherlock Holmes*, (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1960) lists 18, and Edward W. Smith, *Baker Street Inventory: A Sherlockian Bibliography*, (Summit, NJ: The Pamphlet House, 1945), lists 22. Due to the number of unknown illustrations, a count will always be an estimation.

¹¹¹ Pointer, p. 11.

¹¹² Pointer, p. 11.

Paget is also famous for the introduction of the deerstalker cap in an illustration for “The Boscombe Valley Mystery,” the fourth story in the series of *Adventures* tales (see plate 5). While Doyle had described a “close-fitting cloth cap,” Paget drew a deerstalker on Holmes in the railway car, a hat he was said to be fond of wearing himself.¹¹³ This hat would remain on the head of Sherlock Holmes in the imagery for over the century.

Frederick Dorr Steele was the Paget counterpart in the United States, although he was not the only American artist. He began illustrating Sherlock Holmes stories with *The Return of Sherlock Holmes* for *Collier's*, and continued until the end of Conan Doyle's career. The startling imagery of Steele's drawings center upon his depiction of Holmes himself. Steele has admitted himself that he relied upon the actor William Gillette, using photographs of the actor, to create his imagery of Holmes.¹¹⁴

William Gillette played an important role outside of his inspiration for Steele. He brought Sherlock Holmes to the stage in 1899, with a play written either with the assistance of Conan Doyle or at least with his endorsement. This play was extremely successful and brought Holmes to a three-dimensional character. Holmes virtually came to life on the stage and became as real as readers already thought he was.¹¹⁵ That Steele adapted his imagery of Holmes from Gillette only served to perpetuate this imagery.

Publishers used this imagery to good affect often including illustrations in their reprint productions. 89 of 160 books examined were illustrated. Rather

¹¹³ Pointer, p. 9.

¹¹⁴ Pearson, p. 355. Frederic Dorr Steele, “Sherlock Holmes in Pictures” in *The New Yorker*, (May 22, 1937, pp. 35-42), p. 35.

than commission an artist to redraw illustrations, publishers often reused illustrations from previous editions in varying numbers according to the amount they wanted to expend on the book. Whether a book was illustrated was most often included on the title page of the volume, and always a part of advertisements for future volumes.

Illustrations became as much a part of the Sherlock Holmes phenomenon as the words themselves, and probably had more to do with the creation of a consciousness of the visual characteristics of Holmes. Steele was by far the most influential of the artists in creating the image of Holmes, but other artists contributed identifying features. The meerschaum pipe came from Gillette, who found it easier to talk with a curved pipe in his mouth, the deerstalker and cape from Paget, and Watson went through several incarnations as the placid, loyal yet plain companion through the hands of various artists. Had the works not been illustrated, it would be easy to say that the Holmes imagery would have not survived to this day.

Publishers acted as both intermediary between author and reader and as their own agents during the turn of the century period. Revolutionary technological advancements made book production faster and more profitable just in time for the demanding reading public. They weathered the storm of copyright legislation, but still turned out stories not subject to copyright at a prodigious rate. Their manipulation of the book was a weapon they could use in the competitive market for readers. Book design and illustrations became

¹¹⁵ Pearson, p. 357.

important in their ability to lure buyers to their series, while still selling stories well-known to the public.

Conclusion

“Eliminate all other factors, and the one which remains must be the truth.”

The Sign of Four

The publication of the Sherlock Holmes tales from their first appearance in 1887 to Doyle’s death in 1930 demonstrate the action and interaction of cultural structures taking place during this time. The author, the readers and the publishers all played a part in the creation of the cultural phenomenon of Sherlock Holmes. Geertz defines culture as the webs of significance that are created as man acts within their world. Contextualization is an essential element of the study of culture.¹¹⁶ The context of the Holmes tales requires an understanding of all three actors, author, reader, and publisher.

The legacy of Holmes is timeless. Despite the very specific temporal and geographic setting, the Holmes tales contain lasting qualities that suspend their anachronistic features. Holmes is a figure that we all know and love, whether we have read the stories or not; we know what he looks like, and we know his character. We know he smokes a meerschaum pipe, wears a deerstalker cap, and arrives at his conclusions through the practice of scientific deduction. The attraction is “elementary” then and now.

¹¹⁶ Geertz, pp.5-7.

Epilogue

“I think that I may go so far as to say, Watson, that I have not lived wholly in vain. ... If my record were closed tonight I could still survey it with equanimity. The air of London is the sweeter for my presence.”

“The Final Problem”

The popularity of the Sherlock Holmes tales is displayed through the vast amount written, the parodies and pastiches, films and television adaptations, clubs and societies, and volumes of critical works that have grown up around the legacy of the character. The image of Holmes has been used in advertisements for everything from insurance to tobacco to chemicals to alcohol, always with a magnifying glass and deerstalker cap, usually with the meerschaum pipe and sometimes accompanied by his trusty Watson.¹¹⁷ The tales themselves have also enjoyed consistent popularity, making the Doyle estate one of the largest literary estates in history.¹¹⁸

The study of the tales has brought out a remarkable fanaticism amongst its scholars. Chronologies are among the most popular products of Sherlockians, due wholly to the number of chronological inconsistencies in the tales. Other “facts” are hotly debated: Did Holmes attend Oxford or Cambridge? Where was Watson’s wound really? These questions, as well as countless others, undergo scrutiny in periodicals and monographs devoted solely to the topic.

¹¹⁷ Mary Shore Cameron scrapbooks provide a vast array of advertisements using the imagery of Holmes spanning several decades in the twentieth century. RBC Call No. Cameron 11

¹¹⁸ John Bennett Shaw, “The Cult of Sherlock Holmes” in *Cultivating Sherlock Holmes*, (La Crosse, WI: Sumac Press, 1978, pp. 11-26), p. 15.

The creation of societies is by far one of the most interesting results of the craze over the tales. John Bennett Shaw, of the Baker Street Irregulars, the first Sherlock society established in the United States in 1934, wrote in his essay entitled “the Cult of Sherlock Holmes” that “nowhere else is there such a disorganized organization of people espousing such a cause: ‘keeping green the memory of the master detective.’”¹¹⁹

The Baker Street Irregulars (B.S.I.) outlined a constitution that attests to this cause. The constitution includes articles that outline its name, purpose, membership and offices. The by-laws themselves divulge the tongue-in-cheek attitude of Sherlockians at the conception of the Baker Street Irregulars, and includes statements such as “shall drink at will,” determine who shall buy a round if a quotation cannot be identified, establish a protocol for the calling of special meetings, and concludes with “4. All other business shall be left for the monthly meeting. 5. There shall be no monthly meeting.”¹²⁰

The emergence of the B.S.I. began on the heel of Conan Doyle’s death when Christopher Morley proposed in his column “The Bowling Green” in *The Saturday Review of Literature* an organization of followers, the Baker Street Irregulars a few years after Doyle’s death.¹²¹ Originally the B.S.I. met at a restaurant called Christ Cella’s “not because the food was good, but because the restaurant had seventeen steps, the number of steps to Holmes’s rooms in Baker Street.”¹²²

¹¹⁹ Shaw, p. 19.

¹²⁰ Shaw, pp. 20-21.

¹²¹ Cox, p. 131.

¹²² Shaw, p. 19.

Countless authors have followed Conan Doyle into the world of the detective fiction, often using his own character for their works. Approximately 130 cases are mentioned in the canon, and each has been subsequently written, sometimes by numerous different authors. The Solar Pons stories by August Derleth have been credited among the best of these efforts.¹²³ Other detective fiction writers have incorporated the characters of Holmes and Watson in more subtle ways. Dorothy Sayers, in her first work, *Whose Body?*, written in 1923, made several references to Holmes, with her protagonist at one point stating, “I give you full credit for the discovery, I crawl, I grovel, my name is Watson.”¹²⁴

The tales have become collectors items, with the original 1887 *Beeton's Christmas Annual* being the most rare and sought after of the group. In 1960, The Baker Street Irregulars of New York and the Sherlock Holmes society of London published a facsimile edition of this work, complete with a full color cover, advertisements and full content. Originally this facsimile sold for \$7.00 for subscribers and \$10.00 to others, but today it too has become a collectors item.¹²⁵ Rare book collections around the Holmes tales have flourished. Unknown multitudes of private collections exist, but some notable ones have survived to live in public institutions. Most notable of those is the Conan Doyle collection at the Metropolitan Toronto Central Library, the Mary Kahler and Philip S. Hench Collection at the O. Meredith Wilson Library at the University of Minnesota, and the Mary Shore Cameron collection at the Rare Book Collection of the University of North Carolina – Chapel Hill.

¹²³ Shaw, p. 18.

¹²⁴ Dorothy Sayers, *Whose Body?*, (New York: HarperPaperbacks, 1995; c1923), p. 46.

¹²⁵ Baring-Gould, *The Annotated Sherlock Holmes*, p. 12

The cultural phenomenon that was Sherlock Holmes has grown far beyond the limitation of the sixty tales encompassing the canon. Yet the atmosphere of turn of the century London, the science of deduction, the deerstalker cap and meerschaum pipe have survived as symbols of a character that live his lifetime in the now distant past. It is any wonder, given the ever-presence of this cultural icon, that he still evokes mystery and passion over a century after his creation.

Plates

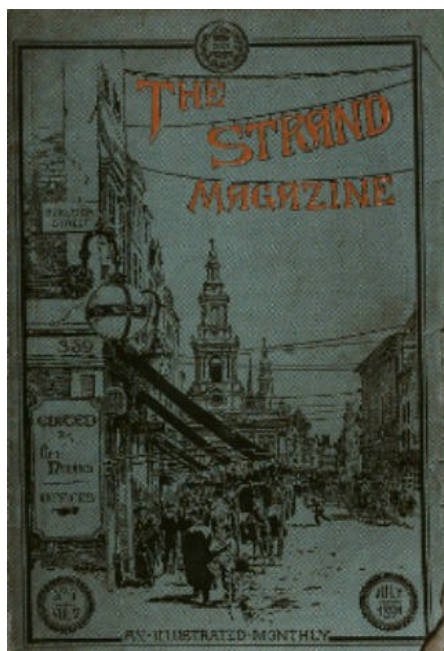


Plate 1: The Strand Magazine Cover.¹²⁶

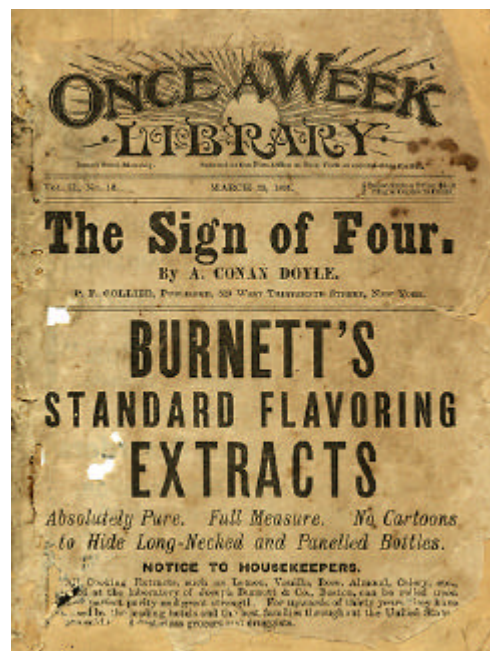


Plate 2: The Sign of Four. New York: P.F. Collier, March 15, 1891. RBC Call No. Cameron 2A.12



Plate 3: The Hound of the Baskervilles: Another Adventure of Sherlock Holmes.

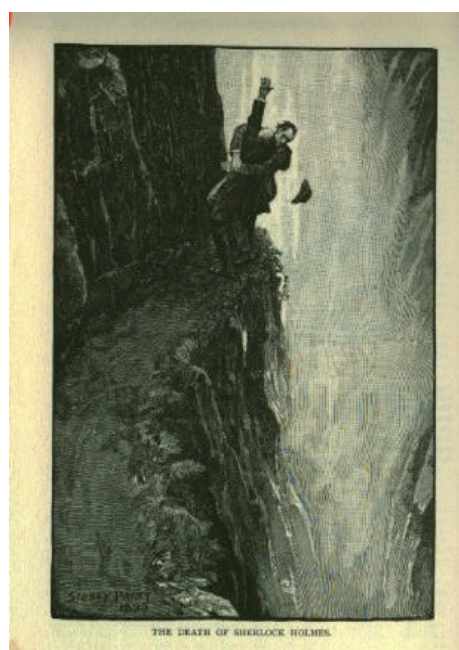


Plate 4: Paget frontispiece from "The Final Problem"¹²⁷

¹²⁶ Allen Eyles, *Sherlock Holmes: A Centenary Collection*, (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1986), p. 18.



Plate 5: Paget illustration from “The Boscombe Valley Mystery” in which he uses the deerstalker cap for the first time.¹²⁸



Plate 6: *The Sign of Four*. London: George Newnes, Limited, 1892. RBC Call No. Cameron 2A.13

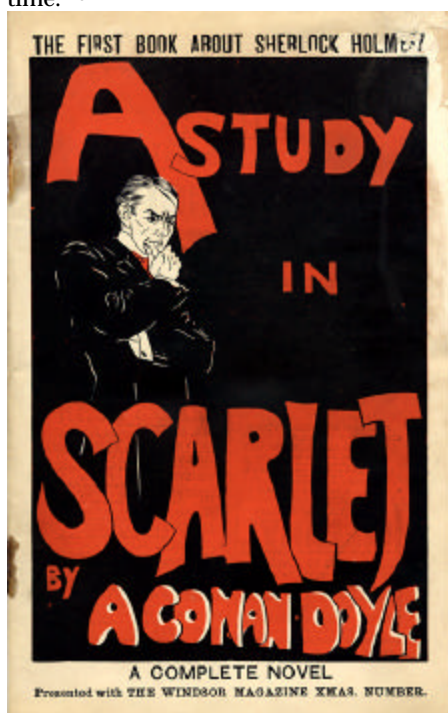


Plate 7: *A Study in Scarlet*. London: Ward, Lock, & Bowden, Limited, 1895. RBC Call No. Cameron 2A.7

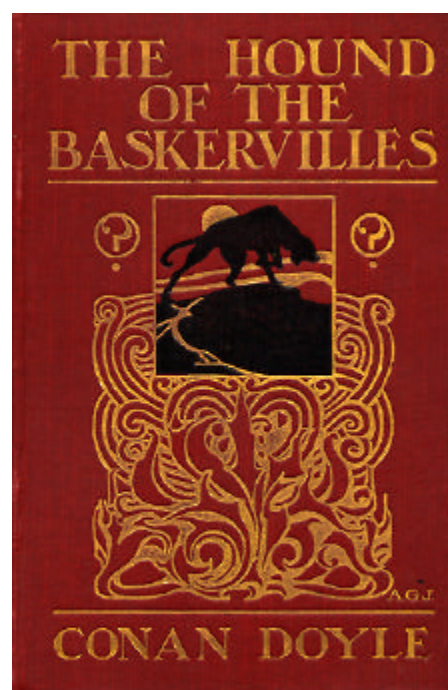


Plate 8: *The Hound of the Baskervilles: Another Adventure of Sherlock Holmes*. London: George Newnes, Limited, 1902. RBC Call No. Cameron 2A.31

¹²⁷ Doyle, Arthur Conan. *The Complete Adventures and Memoirs of Sherlock Holmes: A Facsimile of the Original Strand Magazine Stories, 1891 – 1893 with all the original illustrations by Sidney Paget*, (New York: Clarkson N. Potter, Inc., 1975), p. 314.

¹²⁸ Doyle, p.43.

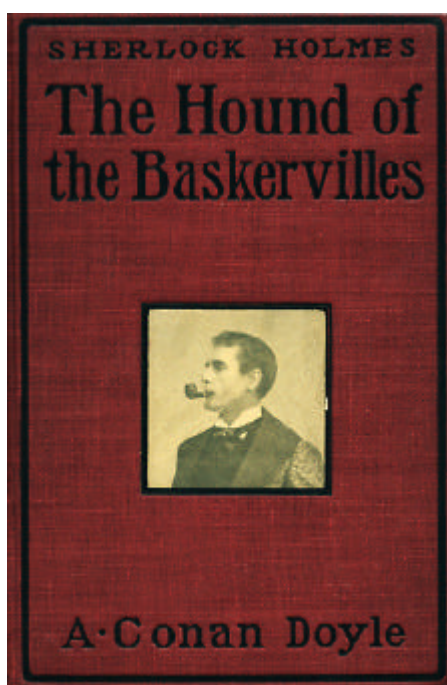


Plate 9: *The Hound of the Baskervilles: Another Adventure of Sherlock Holmes.* New York: Grosset & Dunlap Publishers, March 1902

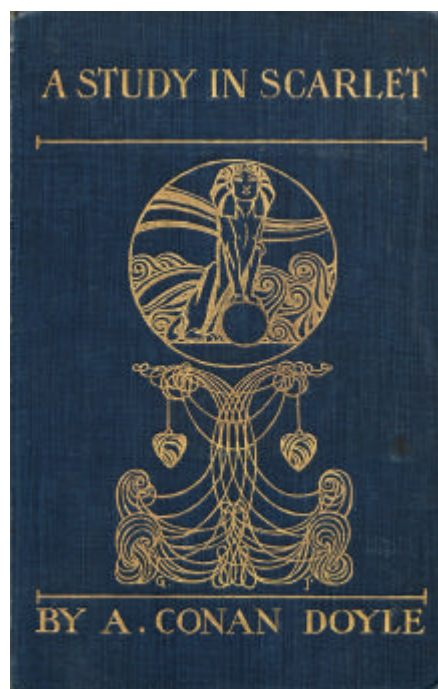


Plate 10: *A Study in Scarlet.* London: George Newnes, Ltd., 1902. RBC Call No. Cameron 2A.9

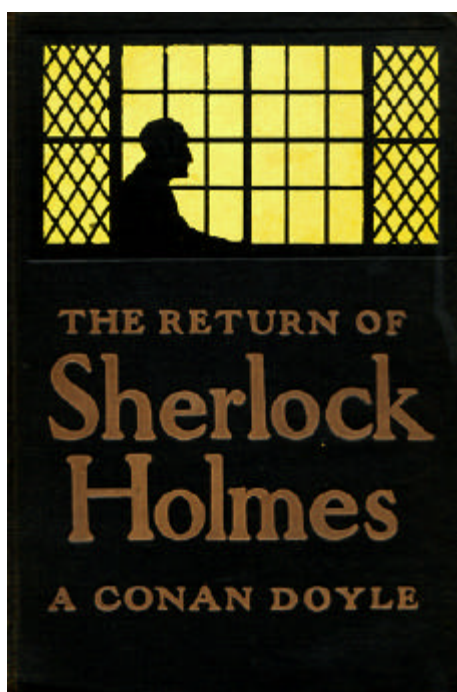


Plate 11: *The Return of Sherlock Holmes.* New York: McClure, Phillips, & Co., 1905. RBC Call No. Cameron 2A.27

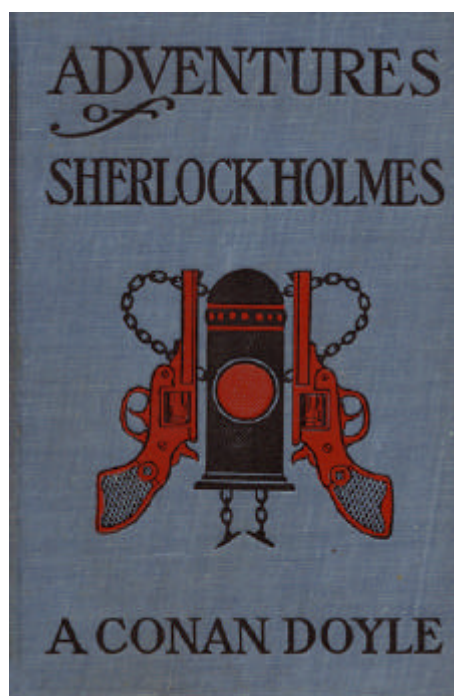


Plate 12: *Adventures of Sherlock Holmes.* New York: A.L. Burt Company, Publishers. RBC Call No. Cameron 2A.20.3

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APPENDIX A

First appearance of Sherlock Holmes Canon

Title	Date	Place
<i>A Study in Scarlet</i>	December 1887	<i>Beeton's Christmas Annual</i>
<i>The Sign of (the) Four</i>	February 1890	<i>Lippincott's Monthly Magazine</i>
"A Scandal in Bohemia"	July 1891	<i>The Strand Magazine</i>
"The Red-Headed League"	August 1891	<i>The Strand Magazine</i>
"A Case of Identity"	September 1891	<i>The Strand Magazine</i>
"The Boscombe Valley Mystery"	October 1891	<i>The Strand Magazine</i>
"The Five Orange Pips"	November 1891	<i>The Strand Magazine</i>
"The Man with the Twisted Lip"	December 1891	<i>The Strand Magazine</i>
"The Adventure of the Blue Carbuncle"	January 1892	<i>The Strand Magazine</i>
"The Adventure of the Speckled Band"	February 1892	<i>The Strand Magazine</i>
"The Adventure of the Engineer's Thumb"	March 1892	<i>The Strand Magazine</i>
"The Adventure of the Noble Bachelor"	April 1892	<i>The Strand Magazine</i>
"The Adventure of the Beryl Coronet"	May 1892	<i>The Strand Magazine</i>

Title	Date	Place
"The Copper Beeches"	June 1892	<i>The Strand Magazine</i>
"The Adventure of Silver Blaze"	December 1892	<i>The Strand Magazine</i>
"The Adventure of the Cardboard Box"	January 1893	<i>The Strand Magazine</i>
"The Adventure of the Yellow Face"	February 1893	<i>The Strand Magazine</i>
"The Adventure of the Stockbroker's Clerk"	March 1893	<i>The Strand Magazine</i>
"The Adventure of the 'Gloria Scott'"	April 1893	<i>The Strand Magazine</i>
"The Adventure of the Musgrave Ritual"	May 1893	<i>The Strand Magazine</i>
"The Adventure of the Reigate Squire"	June 1893	<i>The Strand Magazine</i>
"The Adventure of the Crooked Man"	July 1893	<i>The Strand Magazine</i>
"The Adventure of the Resident Patient"	August 1893	<i>The Strand Magazine</i>
"The Adventure of the Greek Interpreter"	September 1893	<i>The Strand Magazine</i>
"The Adventure of the Naval Treaty"	October-November 1893	<i>The Strand Magazine</i>
"The Adventure of the Final Problem"	December 1893	<i>The Strand Magazine</i>
<i>The Hound of the Baskervilles</i>	August 1901 – April 1902	<i>The Strand Magazine</i>

Title	Date	Place
"The Adventure of the Empty House"	October 1903	<i>The Strand Magazine</i>
"The Adventure of the Norwood Builder"	November 1903	<i>The Strand Magazine</i>
"The Adventure of the Dancing Men"	December 1903	<i>The Strand Magazine</i>
"The Adventure of the Solitary Cyclist"	January 1904	<i>The Strand Magazine</i>
"The Adventure of the Priory School"	February 1904	<i>The Strand Magazine</i>
"The Adventure of Black Peter"	March 1904	<i>The Strand Magazine</i>
"The Adventure of Charles August Milverton"	April 1904	<i>The Strand Magazine</i>
"The Adventure of the Six Napoleons"	May 1904	<i>The Strand Magazine</i>
"The Adventure of the Three Students"	June 1904	<i>The Strand Magazine</i>
"The Adventure of the Golden Pince-Nez"	July 1904	<i>The Strand Magazine</i>
The Adventure of the Missing Three-Quarter"	August 1904	<i>The Strand Magazine</i>
"The Adventure of the Abbey Grange"	September 1904	<i>The Strand Magazine</i>
"The Adventure of the Second Stain"	December 1904	<i>The Strand Magazine</i>
"The Singular Experience of Mr. John Scott Eccles"*	September-October 1908	<i>The Strand Magazine</i>

Title	Date	Place
"The Adventure of the Bruce-Partington Plans"	December 1908	<i>The Strand Magazine</i>
"The Adventure of the Devil's Foot"	December 1910	<i>The Strand Magazine</i>
"The Adventure of the Red Circle"	March-April 1911	<i>The Strand Magazine</i>
"The Disappearance of Lady Frances Carfax"	December 1911	<i>The Strand Magazine</i>
"The Adventure of the Dying Detective"	December 1913	<i>The Strand Magazine</i>
<i>The Valley of Fear</i>	September 1914 – May 1915	<i>The Strand Magazine</i>
"His Last Bow: The War Service of Sherlock Holmes"	September 1917	<i>The Strand Magazine</i>
"The Adventure of the Mazarin Stone"	October 1921	<i>The Strand Magazine</i>
"The Problem of Thor Bridge"	February-March 1922	<i>The Strand Magazine</i>
"The Adventure of the Creeping Man"	March 1923	<i>The Strand Magazine</i>
"The Adventure of the Sussex Vampire"	January 1924	<i>The Strand Magazine</i>
"The Adventure of the Three Garridebs"	January 1925	<i>The Strand Magazine</i>
"The Adventure of the Illustrious Client"	March 1925	<i>The Strand Magazine</i>
"The Adventure of the Three Gables"	October 1926	<i>The Strand Magazine</i>

Title	Date	Place
"The Adventure of the Blanché Soldier"	November 1926	<i>The Strand Magazine</i>
"The Adventure of the Lion's Mane"	December 1926	<i>The Strand Magazine</i>
"The Adventure of the Retired Colourman"	January 1927	<i>The Strand Magazine</i>
"The Adventure of the Veiled Lodger"	February 1927	<i>The Strand Magazine</i>
"The Adventure of Shoscombe Old Place"	March 1927	<i>The Strand Magazine</i>

APPENDIX B

ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY OF SHERLOCK HOLMES TEXTS

This bibliography contains the annotations taken from the volumes examined at the Rare Book Collection (RBC) at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill Wilson Library. Represented here are volumes from both the Mary Shore Cameron and John Murray/Smith, Elder collections. The call numbers included in the annotation refer to their corresponding call numbers from the collection.

The Mary Shore Cameron Collection of Sherlock Holmes and Sherlockiana was given to the University of North Carolina in 1978 by Edward A. Cameron as a memorial to his late wife. This collection contains in total over 1,000 items, including over 350 hardbound volumes, and nearly 100 variations in paperback, foreign language and shorthand. A large variety of serial publications in which the stories appeared were collection as well as second-hand resources on Holmes and Doyle. Realia, pastiches, manuscripts and personal scrapbooks round out the collection.

The John Murray/Smith Elder Collection is a publisher's collection which was obtained in 1984. It includes approximately 8,600 volumes, some of which were Sherlock Holmes stories. John Murray was a successful publishing firm in the nineteenth and twentieth century, but began its roots in the eighteenth century. In 1917, the firm absorbed the Smith, Elder & Company publishing house. The uniqueness of the John Murray collection lies in its originality. Traditionally, publishers sold every copy available, and rare book collections are forced to piece together publishing archives. The Sherlock Holmes portion of the John Murray collection allows researchers and bibliographers a unique look at the printing and reprinting of these famous tales.

Numerous bibliographies of the Sherlock Holmes tales and Arthur Conan Doyle have been written. Ronald De Waal, in his two voluminous works, *The World Bibliography of Sherlock Holmes and Dr. Watson* and *The International Sherlock Holmes*, combined are the most comprehensive bibliographies. Richard Lancelyn Green and John Michael Gibson have produced a bibliography of Arthur Conan Doyle, which strives to be comprehensive and provides a excellent view of the Sherlock Holmes tales within the context of Conan Doyle's career as a writer. These large bibliographies are not infallible, and several smaller or earlier bibliographical sources are useful for their attention to details and obscure and unique citations. Most notable among these are Donald A. Redmond's treatment of American piracies in *Sherlock Holmes Among the Pirates: Copyright and Conan Doyle in America 1890-1930*, Edgar W. Smith's *Baker Street Inventory: A Sherlockian Bibliography*, Nathan Bengis' concentration on *The Sign of Four* in "The 'Signs' of our Times: An Irregular Bibliography" and numerous "Bibliographical Notes" published in *The Baker Street Journal*. The lesser known works offer Sherlockian scholars insights into both the tales and their bibliographical study.

Most of the original publications of *The Strand Magazine* are included in the Mary Shore Cameron collection but are not listed here (RBC Call No. Cameron 3.1). Because this bibliography is examining the reproductions of the Sherlock Holmes tales, these were examined only as a comparative tool. Also included in the Cameron collection is the original *Lippincott's Magazine* in which

The Sign of Four was published (RBC Call No. 2A.10), and a facsimile production of *Beeton's Christmas Annual* produced by The Baker Street Irregulars and the Sherlock Holmes Society in 1960 (RBC Call No. 2A.1).

This annotated bibliography is arranged according to date of publication. The sizable section in the back entitled "no date" attests to the problem of dating material from this period. Within each date category, the entries are filed alphabetically by title.

1890

The Sign of Four. London: Spencer Blackett, 1890. [Frontispiece by Charles Kerr]

Spencer Blackett's Standard Library (on spine); publishers cloth red with black trellis border and gilt lettering on front board and spine; 283 p.; 20 cm
RBC Call No.: Cameron 2A.11; Cameron 2A.11.1

The Sign of Four. London: Spencer Blackett, 1890. [Frontispiece by Charles Kerr]

Griffith Farran & Co.s Standard Library (on spine); publishers cloth red with black trellis border and gilt lettering on front board and spine; 283 p.; 20 cm;
RBC Call No.: Cameron 2A.11.2

1891

The Doings of Raffles Haw. New York: Lovell, Coryell & Company, 1891.

includes "The Red-Headed League" (pp. 135-66) and "The Boscombe Valley Mystery" (pp. 167-99); publishers cloth brown with gilt ornamentation on spine; 199 p. with 12 pages of publisher's advertisements; spine title: Raffles Haw
RBC Call No.: Cameron 2C.1

This volume belonged to Robert Louis Stevenson.

The Sign of Four. New York: P.F. Collier, March 15, 1891.

Once a Week Library, vol. 11 no. 16; 124 p.; 18 cm; softcover magazine includes advertisements on the front and back covers
RBC Call No.: Cameron 2A.12
[See Plate 2]

A Study in Scarlet. London: Ward, Lock, Bowden & Co., 1891. [Illustrated by George Hutchinson]

“A New Edition with forty illustrations by Geo. Hutchinson” third edition
crown 8vo illustrated; publishers cloth red and tan with red lettering;
224 p., 24 p. of advertisements; 20 cm; 40 pen and ink illustrations and
illustrated initial letters
RBC Call No.: Cameron 2A.2; Cameron 2A.3

1892

The Adventures of Sherlock Holmes. London: George Newnes, Limited, 1892.
[Illustrated by Sidney Paget and others]

The Strand Library; publishers cloth, lettering in gilt and black ; printed
by The Gresham Press, Unwin Brothers, London & Chilworth; 317 p.; 24
cm; illustrations distributed throughout text, not as plates
RBC Call No.: Cameron 2A.19

Adventures of Sherlock Holmes. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1892.
[Illustrated by Sidney Paget and others]

publishers cloth light blue with dark blue “GORDIUS NODUS” emblem
in middle, gilt lettering on spine; 307 p.; 16cm; 16 illustrations done by
various artists; publishers advertisements in back
RBC Call No.: Cameron 2A.19.1; Cameron 2A.20.1

The Sign of Four. London: George Newnes, Limited, 1892.

Second edition; publishers cloth maroon, lettering in orange and yellow,
gilt on spine, illustration of man and woman looking at the contents of a
box with a light over head; 283 p.; 20 cm
RBC Call No.: Cameron 2A.13

[See Plate 6]

“The Speckled Band” in *Arthur’s New Home Magazine*. Philadelphia: The
Arthur Publishing Co., April 1892.

pp. 355 – 68; 15 ¢, \$1.50 per year
RBC Call No.: Cameron 3.6

1893

"The Adventure of the Final Problem: The Last Episode in the life of Sherlock Holmes" in *McClure's Magazine*. Vol. II, no.1. New York: S.S. McClure Ltd, December 1893. [Illustrated by Harry C. Edwards]

pp. 99-112; 15 c
RBC Call No.: Cameron 3.7

The Adventures of Sherlock Holmes. London: George Newnes, Limited, 1893. [Illustrated by Sidney Paget and others]

Second edition; The Strand Library; publishers cloth, lettering in gilt and black ; printed by The Gresham Press, Unwin Brothers, London & Chilworth; 317 p.; 24 cm; illustrations distributed throughout text, not as plates
RBC Call No.: Cameron 2A.20

The Sign of Four. London: George Newnes, Limited, 1893.

Third edition; publishers cloth red, letting in orange and yellow, gilt on spine, illustration of man and woman looking at the contents of a box with a light over head; 283 p.; 20 cm
RBC Call No.: Cameron 2A.15

The Sign of Four. London: George Newnes, Limited, 1893.

Third edition; publishers cloth maroon, letting in orange and yellow, gilt on spine, illustration of man and woman looking at the contents of a box with a light over head; 283 p.; 20 cm
RBC Call No.: Cameron 2A.14

The Sign of Four. London: George Newnes, Limited, 1893.

Third edition; publishers cloth brown, letting in orange and yellow, gilt on spine, illustration of man and woman looking at the contents of a box with a light over head; 283 p.; 20 cm
RBC Call No.: Cameron 2A.16

A Study in Scarlet. Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott Company, 1893. [Illustrated by George Hutchinson]

publishers cloth red and tan with red lettering, decorative A in title; printed by J.B. Lippincott Company, Philadelphia, U.S.A.; 214 p.; 20 cm; twelve pen and ink illustrations by George Hutchinson; two pages of advertisements
RBC Call No.: Cameron 2A.4

The illustrations in this volume match those of the 1891 Ward, Lock, Bowden & Co. edition with the exception of the illustrated initial letters.

The Memoirs of Sherlock Holmes. London: George Newnes, Limited, 1894.
[Illustrated by Sidney Paget]

The Strand Library; publishers cloth, royal blue with gilt decorative lettering and The Strand Library device; gilt edges; 279 p.; 25 cm; numerous illustrations by Sidney Paget including both plates and within text block

RBC Call No.: Cameron 2A.25

This edition contains only 11 of the original 12 stories, omitting "The Card-Board Box."

Memoirs of Sherlock Holmes New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1894.
[Illustrated by Sidney Paget and W.H. Hyde]

publishers cloth light blue with dark blue "GORDIUS NODUS" emblem in middle, gilt lettering on spine; 281 p. and 8 p. of publishers advertisements; 19 cm; 26 illustrations by Sidney Paget and W.H. Hyde and decorative initial letters

RBC Call No.: Cameron 2A.26

This volume is the first American Edition. It includes twelve stories, including "The Card-Board Box" as the second story which Doyle requested omitted due to its inappropriate subject matter after this publication. This edition was recalled from booksellers and reissued without "The Card-Board Box."

Memoirs of Sherlock Holmes New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1894.
[Illustrated by Sidney Paget and W.H. Hyde]

New and Revised Edition; publishers cloth light blue with dark blue "GORDIUS NODUS" emblem in middle, gilt lettering on spine; 258 p. and 4 p. of publishers advertisements; 19 cm; 24 illustrations by Sidney Paget and W.H. Hyde and decorative initial letters

RBC Call No.: Cameron 2A.26.1

This edition omits "The Card-Board Box" upon Conan Doyle's request.

The Sign of the Four. New York: F.M. Lupton Publisher, [March 1894].

The Arm Chair Library No. 58; cover title; softcover with illustration; 64 p. (pp. 1-37); 21 cm; decorative initial letters; text in two columns, bound with three other non-Doyle stories

RBC Call No.: Cameron 2E.21.3

"Each number contains a complete novel by a popular author."

A Study in Scarlet. New York: Optimus Printing co., [April 16, 1894].

Happy Thought Library; softcover, blue and white; 175 p.; 16 cm; 25¢
RBC Call No.: 2E.10

"All books in the Happy Thought Library are guaranteed complete and unabridged."

A Study in Scarlet. New York: George Munro's Sons, Publishers, September 22, 1894.

Munro's Library of Popular Novels, No. 14; softcover with border decorations; 177 p.; 19 cm; includes publishers advertisements
RBC Call No.: Cameron 2A.6

A Study of Scarlet. London: Ward, Lock & Bowden Limited, 1894. [Illustrated by George Hutchinson]

New Edition; publishers cloth red and tan; xx, 224 p. and 12 pages of advertisements; 20 cm; 40 pen and ink illustrations by George Hutchinson
RBC Call No.: Cameron 2A.5

This edition includes a "publisher's note" and "Mr. Sherlock Holmes" by Dr. Joseph Bell in the preliminary papers. It is a reprint from a 1893 edition.

1895

A Study in Scarlet. London: Ward, Lock, & Bowden, Limited, 1895. [Illustrated by James Grieg]

Issued as a supplement to the Windsor Magazine, Xmas, 1895; printed by Wm. Clowes and Sons, Limited, Stamford Street and Charing Cross; softpaper with red lettering and a drawing of Holmes; 64 p.; 24 cm; seven pen and ink illustrations by James Grieg; advertisements in front and back; text appears in two columns
RBC Call No.: Cameron 2A.7
[See Plate 7]

1896

A Scandal in Bohemia. New York: George Munro's Sons, Publishers, [March 7, 1896].

Munro's Library of Popular Novels, No. 133; softcover with border decorations; 75 p. (pp. 1-57) and 1 page of publishers advertisements; 18.5 cm; 25¢
RBC Call No.: Cameron 2E.23

The 1896 date is on the cover, however there is a note "To My American Readers" regarding the fairness of George Munro's Sons publishing company about copyright and the unfairness of other firms, from Charles Garvice, London, dated January 3, 1898.

1897

The Last Adventures of Sherlock Holmes: being a New Edition of his "Memoirs". London: George Newnes, Ltd., 1897. [Illustrated by Sidney Paget]

printed by Wyman and Sons, Limited, Printers, London and Redhill; publishers cloth with gilt and black letters and George Newnes street scene device in black; 296 p. and 12 pages of publishers advertisements; many illustrations by Sidney Paget including plates and within the textblock
RBC Call No.: 2A.26.2

1898

A Study in Scarlet. London: Ward, Lock & Co., Limited, [1898]. [Illustrated George Hutchinson]

publishers cloth red and tan with red lettering; xx, 224 p., 12 p. of advertisements; 20 cm; 40 pen and ink illustrations and illustrated initial letters
RBC Call No.: Cameron 2A.8

This edition includes "Mr. Sherlock Holmes" by Dr. Joseph Bell" in the preliminary papers. It is a another reprint from a 1894 edition, which was also reprinted in 1896.

1899

Memoirs of Sherlock Holmes. London: George Newnes, Limited, 1899.

softcover with full lithograph of Sidney Paget sketch of Holmes and Moriarty at Reichenbach Falls; 157 p. and 3 p. of advertisements; 21.5 cm; text block in two columns; sixpence
RBC Call No.: Cameron 2E.43

The Sign of Four. London: George Newnes, Limited, 1899.

printed by William Clowes and Sons, Limited, Stamford Street and Charing Cross; softcover pen and ink sketch of four with a treasure; 124 p. and 2 p. of publishers advertisements; 21.5 cm; sixpence on cover
RBC Call No.: Cameron 2E.21.2

1900

Adventures of Sherlock Holmes. New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1900.

Special Edition, limited to 50,000 (on title page); publishers cloth tan with green ornamental decorations and lettering; 307 p.; 19 cm; publishers advertisements in back
RBC Call No.: Cameron 2A.20.4

A Study in Scarlet. New York: George Munro's Sons Publishers, c1900.

Savory Series No. 6; softcover with Victorian portrait of a woman; 177 p. and 17 p. of publishers advertisements; 18.5 cm; 25¢
RBC Call No.: Cameron 2E.13

1901

Adventures of Sherlock Holmes. London: George Newnes, Ltd., 1901. [Illustrated by various artists]

Souvenir edition; printed by Love and Wyman Ltd, Great Queen Street, W.C.; publishers cloth green with gilt lettering and design, blind imprint for publisher on back; 343 p. and 32 p. of publishers advertisements; 19 cm; illustrations throughout text
RBC Call No.: Cameron 2A.20.5

Adventures of Sherlock Holmes, The Memoirs of Sherlock Holmes, The Sign of Four. London: George Newnes, Limited, 1901.

cover title; printed by William Clowes and Sons, Limited, Duke Street, Stramford Street, S.E. and Great Windmill Street W., Stamford Street and Charing Cross; publishers cloth, red with ornamental decorations and lettering in black; 157, 157, 124 p. and 5 pages of publishers advertisements throughout; 22 cm; text is in two columns for first two , 1 column for last; gilt edges; all have separate title pages
RBC Call No.: Cameron 2C.2

Adventures of Sherlock Holmes. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1901.
[Illustrated by Sidney Paget and others]

publishers cloth light blue with dark blue "GORDIUS NODUS" emblem in middle; 307 p.; 16cm; 16 illustrations done by various artists; publishers advertisements in back
RBC Call No.: Cameron 2A.20.2

1902

Adventures of Sherlock Holmes. London: George Newnes, Ltd., 1902. [Illustrated by various artists]

Souvenir edition; printed by Love and Wyman Ltd, Great Queen Street, W.C.; publishers cloth blue with gilt lettering and design, blind imprint for publisher on back; 341 p.; 19 cm; illustrations throughout text
RBC Call No.: Cameron 2A.20.5

this edition signed by Conan Doyle

Adventures of Sherlock Holmes. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1902.
[Illustrated by Sidney Paget and others]

publishers cloth light blue with dark blue "GORDIUS NODUS" emblem in middle; 307 p.; 16cm; 16 illustrations done by various artists
RBC Call No.: Cameron 2A.21.1

The Hound of the Baskervilles: Another Adventure of Sherlock Holmes. London: George Newnes, Limited, 1902. [Illustrated by Sidney Paget]

printed by William Clowes and Sons, Limited, London and Beccles; publishers cloth red with gilt lettering, black and gilt design; 359 p.; 19 cm; 16 illustrations by Sidney Paget
RBC Call No.: Cameron 2A.31; Cameron 2A.31.1
[See Plate 8]

The Hound of the Baskervilles: Another Adventure of Sherlock Holmes. New York: Grosset & Dunlap Publishers, March 1902. [Illustrated by Sidney Paget]

A Special Limited Edition, 4th impression; publishers cloth red with black lettering and pastedown of photographic representation of Holmes; 249 p.; 20 cm; 6 illustrations by Sidney Paget
RBC Call No.: Cameron 2A.34

The photographic representation is of William Gillette as he portrayed Holmes on stage.
[See Plate 9]

The Hound of the Baskervilles: Another Adventure of Sherlock Holmes. New York: Grosset & Dunlap Publishers, March 1902. [Frontispiece by Sidney Paget]

A Special Limited Edition, 4th impression; publishers cloth red with white lettering; 249 p.; 20 cm
RBC Call No.: Cameron 2A.34.1

This edition is the same as Cameron 2A.34 aside from cover design and the number of illustrations.

The Hound of the Baskervilles: Another Adventure of Sherlock Holmes. London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1902. [Illustrated by Sidney Paget]

Longman's Colonial Library; printed by William Clowes and Sons, Limited, London and Beccles; publishers cloth light blue with navy blue "colonial" decorations; 359 p. and 4 p. publishers advertisements; 19 cm; 16 illustrations by Sidney Paget
RBC Call No.: Cameron 2A.33

"This edition is intended for circulation only in India and the British colonies." – title page.
[See Plate 3]

The Hound of the Baskervilles: Another Adventure of Sherlock Holmes. New York: McClure, Phillips & Co., 1902. [Illustrated by Sidney Paget]

publishers cloth, white lettering with small profile on front board; 249 p. and 8 p. of publishers advertisements in back; 19 cm; 5 illustrations by Sidney Paget
RBC Call No.: 2A. 32

The Hound of the Baskervilles: Another Adventure of Sherlock Holmes. New York: McClure, Phillips & Co., 1902. [Illustrated by Sidney Paget]

publishers cloth, white lettering with small profile on front board; 249 p. and 8 p. of publishers advertisements in back; 19 cm; 8 illustrations by Sidney Paget
RBC Call No.: 2A. 34.4

An “Illustrated” edition, this is the same as Cameron 2A.32 but with additional illustrations and the statement on the title page.

The Hound of the Baskervilles: The Latest Books of Conan Doyle by Special Arrangement with the Author. New York: P.F. Collier & Son, c1901, 1902.
[Frontispiece by Sidney Paget]

publishers cloth red with blind CD crest and gilt CONAN DOYLE, black lettering on spine with different CD crest; 249 p.; 21 cm
RBC Call No.: 2A.34.3

This edition includes the statement “Illustrated” on the title page, but it only includes the Paget frontispiece.

The Last Adventures of Sherlock Holmes. London: George Newnes, Ltd, 1902.
[Illustrated by Sidney Paget]

Souvenir Edition; printed by Love and Malcolmson, Limited, Printers, London and Redhill; cover, spine title “The Memoirs of Sherlock Holmes”; publishers cloth, blue with gilt lettering and design, blind imprint for publisher on back; 296 p.; 19 cm; illustrations by Sidney Paget throughout text, includes decorative initial letters
RBC Call No.: Cameron 2A.28, 2A.28.1

The Cameron 2A.28 item is signed by Conan Doyle.

The Sign of Four. London: George Newnes, Ltd, 1902.

Souvenir Edition; publishers cloth, blue with gilt lettering and design, blind imprint for publisher on back; 285 p.; 19 cm
RBC Call No.: Cameron 2A.17

A Study in Scarlet. London: George Newnes, Ltd, 1902. [Illustrated by George Hutchinson]

Souvenir edition; printed by Ward, Lock and Co., Limited, London, New York, and Melbourne; publishers cloth, blue with gilt lettering and design, blind imprint for publisher on back; 40 pen and ink illustrations by George Hutchinson; 124 p.; 20 cm
RBC Call No.: Cameron 2A.9

It is suspected that the same plates from the 1891 edition from ward, Lock & Co. Limited were used.

[See Plate 10]

1903

Adventure of Sherlock Holmes. London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1903. [Illustrated by A. Twidle]

Author's Edition (on cover); publishers cloth red with gilt lettering on cover and spine; 419 p.; 22 cm; 2 illustrations by A. Twidle
RBC Call No.: Smith Elder 1102

This edition includes a preface written by Conan Doyle, Undershaw, Hindhead 1901, regarding the Sherlock Holmes stories.

The Hound of the Baskervilles: Another Adventure of Sherlock Holmes, Illustrated. New York: McClure, Phillips & Co., 1903. [Illustrated by Sidney Paget]

Special Edition (on spine); publishers cloth blue with gilt on spine, plain boards; 249 p. and 7 p. publishers advertisements; 20 cm; 7 illustrations by Sidney Paget
RBC Call No.: Cameron 2A.34.5

The Memoirs of Sherlock Holmes. London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1903. [Illustrated by A. Twidle]

Author's Edition (on cover); publishers cloth red with gilt lettering on cover and spine; 395 p.; 22 cm; 2 illustrations by A. Twidle
RBC Call No.: Smith Elder 1129

This edition includes a does not include the preface written by Conan Doyle that appears in the companion volume of *The Adventures of Sherlock Holmes* (Smith Elder 1102)

A Study in Scarlet and The Sign of Four: with a note on Sherlock Holmes by Dr. Joseph Bell. London: Smith, Elder, & Co., 1903. [Illustrated by A. Twidle]

Author's Edition (on cover); publishers cloth red with gilt lettering on cover and spine; xxiv, 220, [2], 210 p.; 22 cm; 2 illustrations by A. Twidle; deckled edges
RBC Call No.: Smith Elder 1135

This edition contains a reprint of the "Mr. Sherlock Holmes" essay written by Dr. Joseph bell.

A Study in Scarlet and the Sign of Four: with a note on Sherlock Holmes by Dr. Joseph Bell. London: John Murray, 1903. [Illustrated by A. Twidle]

Author's Edition (on cover); publishers cloth red with gilt lettering on cover and spine; 210 p.; 22 cm; 2 illustrations by A. Twidle
RBC Call No.: Cameron 2C.4

This edition contains a reprint of the "Mr. Sherlock Holmes" essay written by Dr. Joseph Bell.

1904

A Study in Scarlet and The Sign of the Four. New York: Harper & Brothers, [1904], c1904.

publishers cloth light blues with lettering in gilt, GORDIUS NODUS shield on front; 287 p.; 20 cm
RBC Call No.: Cameron 2C.5

This edition has a preface by James MacArthur entitled "The Creator of Sherlock Holmes."

A Study in Scarlet and The Sign of the Four. New York: Harper & Brothers, [1904], c1904.

publishers cloth red with black lettering, GORDIUS NODUS shield on front; 287 p.; 20 cm
RBC Call No.: Cameron 2C.6

This edition has a preface by James MacArthur entitled "The Creator of Sherlock Holmes."

1905

"The Adventures of Sherlock Holmes by A. Conan Doyle" in *Pennsylvania Grit Story Section, An Illustrated Section of Best Fiction, Brightest Narrative and Entertainment*. Vol. XXIII, no. 26. Williamsport, PA: s.n., May 28, 1905.

RBC Call No.: Cameron 3.9

This is an incomplete reprint of *A Study in Scarlet*.

The Return of Sherlock Holmes. London: George Newnes, Ltd, 1905. [Illustrated by Sidney Paget]

printed by London Colour Printing Company, Limited, Exmoor Street, North Kensington, W.; publishers cloth blue with gilt letters on front board and spine; 403 p, and 4 pages of publishers advertisements; 20 cm; 16 illustrations by Sidney Paget
RBC Call No.: Cameron 2A.36

The Return of Sherlock Holmes. New York: McClure, Phillips, & Co., 1905. [Illustrated by Charles Raymond Macauley]

printed by The McClure Press, New York; publishers cloth black with silhouette of Holmes in window, background in yellow, rust lettering on front board, yellow lettering on spine; 381 p.; 20 cm; 13 illustrations by Charles Raymond Macauley
RBC Call No.: Cameron 2A.37; Cameron 2A.37.1
[See Plate 11]

The Return of Sherlock Holmes. New York: McClure, Phillips, & Co., 1905. [Illustrated by Charles Raymond Macauley]

Special Edition (on spine); printed by The McClure Press, New York; publishers cloth blue, plain with gilt decoration of publisher's device on spine; 381 p.; 20 cm; 13 illustrations by Charles Raymond Macauley
RBC Call No.: Cameron 2A.37.3

1906

The Adventures of Sherlock Holmes. London: George Newnes, Ltd., 1906. [Illustrated by Sidney Paget]

printed by Love and Malcolmson, Ltd., 4 & 5 Dean Street, Holborn, London, W.C.; publishers cloth blue; 341 p.; 19 cm; illustrations by Sidney Paget throughout text; publishers advertisements in back
RBC Call No.: Cameron 2A.23

The Memoirs of Sherlock Holmes. London: George Newnes, Ltd., 1906. [Illustrated by Sidney Paget]

printed by Love and Malcolmson, Limited, Printers, London and Redhill; publishers device, blue with gilt lettering and design; 296; 19 cm; illustrated by Sidney Paget throughout text and with decorative initial letters
RBC Call No.: Cameron 2A.28.2

1907

The Return of Sherlock Holmes. New York: A. Wessels Co., 1907. [Illustrated by Charles Raymond Macauley]

publishers cloth, tan with black and mustard yellow design; 381 p.; 20 cm; 4 illustration by Charles Raymond Macauley
RBC Call No.: Cameron 2A.37.2

“Grosset and Dunlap” appear on the spine.

The Return of Sherlock Holmes. New York: A. Wessels Co., 1907. [Illustrated by Charles Raymond Macauley]

publishers cloth, dark brown with black and bright yellow design; 381 p.; 20 cm; 4 illustration by Charles Raymond Macauley
RBC Call No.: Cameron 2A.37.4

This item is identical to 2A.37.2 with the exception of the publishing statement, which here reads “A. Wessels Co.” on the spine. In addition, the cloth coloring is slightly different.

1913

The Return of Sherlock Holmes. London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1913. [Illustrated by Sidney Paget]

New Edition; printed by William Clowes and Sons, Limited, London and Beccles; publishers cloth red with gilt lettering; 403 p. and 4 pages of publishers advertisements; 20 cm; 16 illustrations by Sidney Paget
RBC Call No.: Cameron 2A.37.5

1915

The Memoirs of Sherlock Holmes. London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1915. [Illustrated by Sidney Paget]

New Edition; printed by William Clowes and Sons, Limited, London and Beccles; publishers cloth, deep red with gilt lettering on board and spine; 248 p.; 20 cm; 25 illustrations by Sidney Paget
RBC Call No.: Smith Elder 1110

The Valley of Fear. London: John Murray, 1915. [Frontispiece by Frank Wiles]

Second Impression; printed by William Clowes and Sons, Limited, London and Beccles; publishers cloth red plain with gilt lettering on spine; 306 p.; includes dustwrapper, yellow with picture of Holmes inspecting clue
RBC Call No.: Murray 4507

The Valley of Fear. London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1915. [Frontispiece by Frank Wiles]

printed by William Clowes and Sons, Limited, London and Beccles; publishers cloth red plain with gilt lettering; 306 p. and 6 p. of publishers advertisements; 20 cm
RBC Call No.: Cameron 2A.41

1916

The Adventures of Sherlock Holmes. London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1916. [Illustrated by Sidney Paget]

New Edition; printed by William Clowes and Sons, Limited, London & Beccles; publishers cloth red plain with gilt letters; 293 p. and 2 pages of advertisements; 20 cm; 25 illustrations by Sidney Paget throughout text

RBC Call No.: Cameron 2A.24

This edition signed by Conan Doyle.

1917

His Last Bow: Some Reminiscences of Sherlock Holmes. London: G. Bell and Sons, Ltd., 1917.

printed by Hazell, Watson and Viney Ltd, London and Aylesbury, England; publishers cloth red with blind lettering on board and gilt lettering on spine; 305 p.; 19 cm
RBC Call No.: Cameron 2A.43.3

His Last Bow: Some Reminiscences of Sherlock Holmes. London: John Murray, 1917.

printed by Hazell, Watson and Viney, L.D. London Aylesbury, England;
publishers cloth plain with gilt lettering; 305 p. and 6 p. of publishers
advertisements; 19 cm; includes preface
RBC Call No.: Cameron 2A.43; Cameron 2A.43.1

Cameron 2A.43.1 is signed by Conan Doyle. This edition contains a preface by Dr. Watson that discusses the re-emergence of Sherlock Holmes from retirement: "The friends of Sherlock Holmes will be glad to learn that he is still alive and well, though somewhat crippled by occasional attacks of rheumatism. He has, for many years, lived in a small farm upon the Downs five miles from Eastbourne, where his time is divided between philosophy and agriculture. During this period of rest he has refused the most princely offers to take up various cases, having determined that his retirement was a permanent one. The approach of the German war caused him, however, to lay his remarkable combination of intellectual and practical activity at the disposal of the Government, with historical results which are recounted in *His Last Bow* so as to complete the volume. John H. Watson, M.D." (p.v)

His Last Bow: Some Reminiscences of Sherlock Holmes. London: John Murray, 1917.

printed by Hazell, Watson and Viney, Ltd. London and Aylesbury, England; publishers cloth red plain with gilt lettering on cover and spine; 305 p. and 6 p. of publishers advertisements; 19cm; 6'-net; includes dustwrapper with picture of Holmes and pipe, holding a rooster; includes preface
RBC Call No.: Murray 4505

This volume also includes the preface by Watson, but the differing dustwrapper distinguishes these two entries. It is possible that John Murray released several different dustwrappers within the same edition.

His Last Bow: Some Reminiscences of Sherlock Holmes. New York: A. L. Burt Co., 1917.

publishers cloth dark red with black lettering and floral ornamentation; 308 p. and 11 p. publishers advertisements; 20 cm; includes preface
RBC Call No.: Cameron 2A.43.4

His Last Bow: Some Reminiscences of Sherlock Holmes. New York: George H. Dovan, Co., 1917.

publishers cloth orange with black lettering and floral ornamentation; 308 p.; 20 cm; includes preface
RBC Call No.: Cameron 2A.43.2

It is noted on the back cover that this is the first American edition, which is said to proceed the first English edition.

The Memoirs of Sherlock Holmes. [London]: John Murray, 1917.

printed by William Clowes and Sons, Limited, London and Beccles, England; publishers cloth royal blue with dark blue three tree design; 248 p. and 4 p. of publishers advertisements; 17.5 cm; decorated title page; includes dustwrapper with color illustration by Sidney Paget of Holmes and Moriarty at the Reichenbach Falls
RBC Call No.: Murray 4506

1918

The Adventures of Sherlock Holmes. London: John Murray, 1918. [Illustrated by Sidney Paget]

New Impression; printed by William Clowes and Sons, Limited, London and Beccles, England; publishers cloth red with gilt lettering on spine; 293 p. and 2 p. publishers advertisements; 20 cm; 24 illustrations by Sidney Paget
RBC Call No.: Murray 4511

The Return of Sherlock Holmes. London: John Murray, 1918. [Illustrated by Sidney Paget]

New Impression; printed by William Clowes and Sons, Limited, London and Beccles, England; publishers cloth red with gilt lettering on spine; 16 illustrations by Sidney Paget
RBC Call No.: Murray 4512

1920

The Adventures of Sherlock Holmes. New York: A.L. Burt Co., 1920.

printed by Wyman & Sons Ltd, London and Reading; publishers cloth; 293 p. and 10 p. publishers advertisements; includes dustwrapper with picture of Holmes holding a crown and a pipe
RBC Call No.: Murray 5468

The Adventures of Sherlock Holmes. New York: A.L. Burt Company Publishers, c1892, c1920.

publishers cloth with a lamp and pistol motif; 307 p. and 10 p. of
publishers advertisements; 20 cm; includes decorative initial letters
RBC Call No.: Cameron 2A.24.1

A Study in Scarlet: The First Book about Sherlock Holmes. London: Ward, Lock & Co.,
Limited, 1920. [Frontispiece by George Hutchinson]

publishers cloth red with black wording and decorations; 255 p.; 18 cm
RBC Call No.: Cameron 2A.9.1

This edition includes the article "Mr. Sherlock Holmes" by Dr. Joseph
Bell and a publisher's note.

1922

His Last Bow: Some Reminiscences of Sherlock Holmes. [London]: John Murray, 1922.

Cheap Edition; printed by Hazell, Watson and Viney, Ltd., London and
Aylesbury, England; publishers cloth royal blue with dark blind tree
design; 305 p. and 1 p. publishers advertisements; 18 cm; includes
preface
RBC Call No.: Cameron 2A.44

1923

The Adventures of Sherlock Holmes. London: John Murray, 1923. [Frontispiece by
Philip Simmonds]

Modern English Series; First Edition; printed by William Clowes and
Sons, Limited, London and Beccles; publishers cloth blue with gilt
lettering and floral decoration; 188 p.; 19 cm; 2/6 net; includes
dustwrapper on blue with a drawing of Holmes in a robe smoking a pipe
with a gun on the table; includes preface by editors
RBC Call No.: Murray 4499 c.1

This edition of *The Adventures* includes six short stories from the
original *Adventures* and *Memoirs* compilations. Those stories are: "The
Red-Headed League", "The Five Orange Pips", "The Blue Carbuncle",
"The Speckled Band", "The Reigate Squire", and "The Final Problem."

The Adventures of Sherlock Holmes. London: John Murray, 1923. [Frontispiece by
Philip Simmonds]

Modern English Series; First Edition; printed by William Clowes and Sons, Limited, London and Beccles; publishers cloth red with dark blue lettering and floral decoration; 188 p.; 19 cm; 2/6 net; includes dustwrapper on blue with a drawing of Holmes in a robe smoking a pipe with a gun on the table; includes preface by editors
RBC Call No.: Murray 4499 c.2

1924

The Memoirs of Sherlock Holmes. London: John Murray, 1924.

Thin Paper Edition; printed by Wyman & Sons, Ltd, London, Reading and Fakenham; publishers cloth red with monogram in gilt and decorative spine; 248 p. and 2 p. publishers advertisements; 18 cm
RBC Call No.: Cameron 2A.29

1927

The Case-Book of Sherlock Holmes. London: John Murray, 1927.

printed by Butler & Tanner Ltd, Frome and London; publishers cloth red with gilt lettering; 320 p.; 20 cm; includes preface
RBC Call No.: Cameron 2A.45

This edition includes a preface written by Conan Doyle that discusses both the positive and negative effects of the success of the Sherlock Holmes tales: "It would be true to say that those who first read of him as young men have lived to see their own grown-up children following the same adventures in the same magazine. It is a striking example of the patience and loyalty of the British public. ... Had Holmes never existed, I could not have done more, though he may perhaps have stood a little in the way of the recognition of my more serious literary work." (pp.6-7)

The Case-Book of Sherlock Holmes. London: John Murray, 1927.

printed by Butler & Tanner Ltd, From and London; publishers cloth red with gilt lettering on board and spine; 320 p.; 19 cm; includes dustwrapper
RBC Call No.: 5169

The Case-Book of Sherlock Holmes. New York: A. L. Burt, 1927.

publishers cloth navy blue with gilt letters; 320 p.; 20 cm; includes
 preface
 RBC Call No.: Cameron 2A.47

The Case-Book of Sherlock Holmes. New York: George H. Doran Co., c1927.

publishers cloth gold plain with red lettering; 320 p.; 20 cm; includes
 preface
 RBC Call No.: Cameron 2A.46

The Case-Book of Sherlock Holmes. New York: George H. Doran Co., c1927.

publishers cloth gray plain with red lettering; 320 p.; 20 cm; includes
 preface; includes dustwrapper
 RBC Call No.: Cameron 2A.48

1928

His Last Bow: Some Reminiscences of Sherlock Holmes. London: John Murray, 1928.

Sherlock Holmes, The Complete Short Stories: His Adventures. Memoirs. Return. His Last Bow & The Case-Book. London: John Murray, 1928.

First Edition; printed by Butler & Tanner, Ltd, From and London;
 publishers cloth red with gilt lettering on cover and spine; 1,336 p. and 12
 p. publishers advertisements; 20 cm; 7/6 net; Sherlock Holmes Short
 Stories (spine title); includes dustwrapper
 RBC Call No.: Murray 5170

printed by Hazell, Watson & Viney, Ltd, London and Aylesbury;
 publishers cloth red with gilt lettering on spine; 305 p. and 6 p.
 publishers advertisements; 20 cm
 RBC Call No.: Murray 4514

1929

The Case-Book of Sherlock Holmes. London: John Murray, 1929.

First Cheap Edition; printed by Butler & Tanner Ltd, From and London; publishers cloth red with gilt lettering on board and spine; 320 p.; 19 cm; 3'6 Net; includes dustwrapper drawn by J. Abbey
RBC Call No.: Murray 5362

Sherlock Holmes: A Study in Scarlet, The Sign of Four, The Hound of the Baskervilles, The Valley of Fear The Complete Long Stories, 4 Volumes in 1. London: John Murray, 1929.

First Edition in One Volume; printed by Butler & Tanner, Ltd., Frome and London; publishers cloth red with gilt lettering; 640 p. and 6 p. publishers advertisements; 20 cm; 7/6 net; The Sherlock Holmes Long Stories (spine title, cover title); includes preface
RBC Call No.: Murray 5173; Cameron 2D.3

Murray 5173 includes a dustwrapper. This edition was marketed as a companion to the compilation of short stories produced by John Murray in 1928. A blurb on the dustwrapper states: "This book contains the four novels concerning Sherlock Holmes, and with its companion volume, 'The Complete Sherlock Holmes Short Stories,' comprises all the literature concerning the famous detective." The preface was written by Conan Doyle.

1930

The Case-Book of Sherlock Holmes. London: John Murray, 1930.

Uniform Edition; printed by Butler Tanner Ltd., Frome and London; publishers cloth plain red with black lettering on spine; 320 p.; 19 cm; 6/- net; includes preface; includes dustwrapper
RBC Call No.: Murray 4500

The Complete Sherlock Holmes. New York: Doubleday, Doran & Co., Inc., 1930. 2 vols.

Memorial edition; publishers cloth black with red lettering; separate paginations; 21 cm; \$3.75; Box set
RBC Call No.: Cameron 2D.4 v.1-2

This is a box set of two volumes. The box contains illustrations, including a photograph of William Gillette in deerstalker cap, lighting a cigarette, with a biographical sketch of Doyle on the back. It claims to be the first collection in two volumes.

The Hound of the Baskervilles. New York: Doubleday, Doran & Co., Inc., 1930.

The G. Washington Edition; printed by The Country Life Press, Garden City, NY; publishers cloth maroon with gilt and black silhouette of Holmes; 191 p.; 19 cm; photograph frontispiece with caption "Mr. Richard Gordon, the celebrated actor who plays the title role in the radio dramatization of Sherlock Holmes"

RBC Call No.: Cameron 2A.34.5.1

No Date

The Adventures of Sherlock Holmes. London: George Newnes, Limited.

Newnes' Sixpenny Copyright Novel; printed by William Clowes and Sons, Limited, Duke Street, Stamford Street SE and Great Windmill Street, W.; softcover decorated with sketch from "The Speckled Band" signed [HBT] Cole 1903; 157 p. and 3 p. advertisements; 21.5 cm

RBC Call No.: Cameron 2E.38

The Adventures of Sherlock Holmes. London: George Newnes, Limited.

Newnes' Sixpenny Copyright Novel No. 20 (on spine); printed by William Clowes and Sons, Limited, Duke Street, Stamford Street SE and Great Windmill Street, W.; softcover decorated with a drawing of Holmes smoking a pipe in a red robe by Frederick Dorr Steele; 21.5 cm

RBC Call No.: Cameron 2E. 39

At the bottom of page 157 a note declares "Uniform with this volume" and page 158 begins another work, which is only represented by the very beginning of that story.

Adventures and Memoirs of Sherlock Holmes. Preston: James Askew & Son. [Illustrated by Sidney Paget and T.H. Townsend]

printed by William Clowes and Sons, Limited, Duke Street, Stamford Street, SE and Great Windmill Street, W.; publisher cloth green with design of Holmes and Watson looking for clues on the banks of a river in black and gilt; 157, 157, 124 p.; 22 cm; 12 illustrations by Sidney Paget and T.H. Townsend and a frontispiece photograph of Conan Doyle by Russell & Sons; text block in double column for *Adventures* and *Memoirs* stories, single column for *The Sign of Four*

RBC Call No.: Cameron 2C.7

Each story has separate pagination

The Adventure of the Dying Detective. s.l.: Advertising Department Collier's Weekly. [Frontispiece]

paper over stiff boards plain cream with what paper label on spine; 38 p.; 14.5 cm; "Sherlock Holmes Vol. IV" (spine title, cover title)
RBC Call No.: Cameron 2C.15

"The Adventure of the Dying Detective. A new Sherlock Holmes story by Sir A. Conan Doyle. Reprinted from the November 22, 1913, Issue of Collier's. The National Weekly is presented to you with the compliments of the Advertising Department. Christmas MCMXIII P.F. Collier & Son, Inc." (Signature Advertising Manager)

Adventures of Sherlock Holmes. New York: A.L. Burt Company, Publishers.

publishers cloth blue with lamp, chains, and two pistols on front board, black lettering; 307 p.; 20 cm; publisher's advertisements
RBC Call No.: Cameron 2A.20.3
[See Plate 12]

The Adventures of Sherlock Holmes. London: T. Nelson & Sons. [Frontispiece by Noel Pocock]

Nelson's Library; printed by T. Nelson and Son Printers & Publishers; publishers cloth red with blind decoration. gilt lettering on spine; 379 p. and 4 p. publishers advertisements; 16 cm
RBC Call No.: Cameron 2A.24.4

The Adventures of Sherlock Holmes. London: George Newnes, Limited. [Illustrated by Sidney Paget]

printed by William Clowes and Sons, Limited, Duke Street, Stamford Street, S.E. and Great Windmill Street, W.; publishers cloth green with gilt design and lettering, black lines; 157 p. and 1 p. publishers advertisements; 22 cm; 4 illustrations by Sidney Paget; text block in two columns
RBC Call No.: 2A.24.5

A Case of Identity. Chicago: M.A. Donohue & Co.

The Flashlight Detective Series No. 54; softcover decorated with man in a top hat in bushes spying through a window at a jewelry store being robbed; 230 p. (pp. 201-30) and 3 p. publishers advertisements; 18 cm
RBC Call No.: Cameron 2E.34

A Case of Identity. Chicago: M.A. Donohue & Co.

The Flashlight Detective Series No. 54; softcover orange Holmes in profile with magnifying glass; 230 p. (pp. 201-30) and 3 p. publishers advertisements; 18 cm
RBC Call No.: Cameron 2E.33

While this volume maintains the Detective Series number and "A Case of Identity" is on the same pages, the other stories within Cameron 2E.34 and 2E.33 differ.

A Case of Identity: A Sherlock Holmes Story. Cleveland: The Arthur Westbrook Company.

American Detective Series No. 4; softcover with color decoration; 255 p. (pp. 227-255) and 16 p. advertisements
RBC Call No.: Cameron 2E.32

The Hound of the Baskervilles. London: T. Nelson & Sons, Ltd. [Frontispiece]

Nelson's Library; printed by T. Nelson & Sons Ltd.; publishers cloth red with blind decorations on front, gilt lettering on spine; 374 p. and 2 p. publishers advertisements; 17 cm
RBC Call No.: Cameron 2A.34.7

The Memoirs of Sherlock Holmes. New York: A.L. Burt Company, Publishers. [Illustrated by W.H. Hyde]

publishers cloth bright blue with dark blue and gilt decoration, lettering in dark blue; 259 p. and 6 p. publishers advertisements; 20 cm; 4 illustrations by W.H. Hyde
RBC Call No.: Cameron 2A.27

The Memoirs of Sherlock Holmes. London: T. Nelson & Sons, Ltd.

publishers cloth red with blind decoration and gilt lettering on spine; 384 p.; 17 cm; decorative title page
RBC Call No.: Cameron 2A.29.1

The Memoirs of Sherlock Holmes. London: T. Nelson & Sons. [Frontispiece]

Nelson's Library; publishers cloth red with blind decoration and gilt lettering on spine; 384 p.; 16 cm; decorative title page
RBC Call No.: Cameron 2A.29.2

Original Adventures of Sherlock Holmes. New York: R.F. Fenno & Company. [Illustrated].

Special Limited Edition; publishers cloth red with white lettering and yellow Holmes figure holding a gun; 413 p. and 13 p. advertisements; 8 photographs of William Gillette performing as Holmes
RBC Call No.: Cameron 2C.12

This volume includes *A Study in Scarlet*, *The Sign of Four*, "A Scandal in Bohemia," "The Red-Headed League," "A Case of Identity," and "The Boscombe Valley Mystery."

The Red-Headed League: A Sherlock Holmes Story. Cleveland: The Arthur Westbrook Company.

American Detective Series No. 6; softcover with color decoration; 23, 134 p.; 18 cm; bound with *The Great Hesper: A Novel* by Frank Barrett, separate pagination; The Red Headed League (spine title and cover title)
RBC Call No.: Cameron 2E. 27; Cameron 2E. 28; Cameron 2E. 29

The Red-Headed League: A Sherlock Holmes Story. Philadelphia: Royal Publishing Co.

softcover half black and half cream with Holmes figure; 23, 67, 68 p.; 18 cm; 25¢; bound with "Jack of all Trades" and "Clouds and Sunshine" by Charles Reade
RBC Call No.: Cameron 2E.30

The Red-Headed League: also the Dark House, Two Knots Unraveled. s.l.: s.n.

softcover white with brown lettering and brown decoration of Holmes; 21, 104 p. and 2 p. publishers advertisements; Sherlock Holmes and the Red Headed League (cover title, spine title)
RBC Call No.: Cameron 2E.31

The Return of Sherlock Holmes. London: Hodder and Stoughton.

printed by Butler & Tanner, Frome and London; publishers cloth red with black lettering on spine and cover, five vertical blind lines on cover; 316 p. and 2 p. publishers advertisements, continuing on endpaper; 18 cm; decorated title page
RBC Call No.: Cameron 2A.39

A Scandal in Bohemia, complete and unabridged. Boston: Book Dept., Jordan Marsh & Co.

softcover plain with advertisements for other title on front and back; 30 p.; 16.5 cm; 10¢
RBC Call No.: Cameron 2E.26

A Scandal in Bohemia: A Sherlock Holmes Story. Cleveland: The Arthur Westbrook Company.

American Detective Series No. 5; softcover with color decoration; 187-224 p., 21-120 p. and 12 p. publishers advertisements; 18 cm
RBC Call No.: Cameron 2E.22

The pagination of this volume is out of order. "A Scandal in Bohemia" appears at the beginning of the volume, but the pagination is 187 – 224. It is followed by "The Chadwick Case" which has 21 – 120 pagination.

A Scandal in Bohemia. s.l.: s.n.

softcover blue and white with Holmes profile; 106 p. (pp. 1-57) and 2 p. publisher advertisement; 18 cm; A Scandal in Bohemia or Caught by Sherlock Holmes (cover title)
RBC Call No.: Cameron 2E.25

Sherlock Holmes, in Two Volumes, Vol. II. New York: Street & Smith, Publishers.

Magnet Library No., 323; softpaper blue with full length of Holmes; 215 p. and 8 p. publishers advertisements; 18 cm; Sherlock Holmes Detective Stories in Two Volumes Volume Two (cover title)
RBC Call No.: Cameron 2E.21.5

This volume includes *The Sign of the Four* and "The Boscombe Valley Mystery."

Sherlock Holmes and the Great "Agra" Treasure or The Sign of the Four. s.l.: s.n.

Atlantic Library No. 43; softcover blue and white with holmes profile; 109 p. and 17 p. publishers advertisements; 18.5 cm; Sherlock Holmes and The Sign of the "4" (cover title); The Sign of the "4" (spine title)
RBC Call No.: Cameron 2E.21

Sherlock Holmes: A Novel. New York: J.S. Ogilvie Publishing Company.

Sunset Series No. 99; softcover blue with profile of Holmes; 176 p. and 20 p. publishers advertisements; 18 cm
RBC Call No.: Cameron 2E.45

This volume is actually *A Study in Scarlet*.

Sherlock Holmes Detective Stories. Cleveland: The Arthur Westbrook Company.

American Detective Series No. 1; softcover with decorations in color; 188 p. and 2 p. publishers advertisements; 18 cm

RBC Call No.: Cameron 2E.8

This volume contains the story for "A Study in Scarlet" but does not contain the statement at the beginning of the first chapter referring to Watson's diary.

The Sign of the Four and A Study in Scarlet. New York: Lovell, Coryell & Company.

publishers cloth red black lettering and gilt lettering on spine; 213 p. and 8 p. publishers advertisement; 19 cm
RBC Call No.: Cameron 2C.11

The Sign of the Four, A Scandal in Bohemia and Other stories. New York: A.L. Burt Company, Publishers.

publishers cloth green plain with gilt lettering on spine; 364 p.; 19 cm;
Sign of the Four (spine title)
RBC Call No.: Cameron 2c.13.1

This volume includes *The Sign of the Four*, "A Scandal in Bohemia," "A Case of Identity" and four non-Holmes stories by Conan Doyle.

The Sign of the Four, A Scandal in Bohemia and Other stories. New York: A.L. Burt Company, Publishers. [Frontispiece by J. Watson Davis]

The Home Library (on spine); publishers cloth maroon plain with gilt lettering on spine; 364 p.; 19 cm
RBC Call No.: Cameron 2C.13.2

The composition for this volume is the same as that of Cameron 2C.13.1.

The Sign of the Four: A Novel. New York: Street & Smith, Publishers.

publishers cloth maroon with black lettering and rectangular design, gilt lettering on spine; 218 p. (1-176 p.); 19 cm; bound with "Night Among the Nihilists" stories
RBC Call No.: Cameron 2C.14

The Sign of the Four. Cleveland: The Arthur Westbrook Company.

American Detective Series No. 7; softcover with color decoration; 212 p. and 11 p. publishers advertisements; 18 cm
RBC Call No.: Cameron 2E.16

The Sign of the Four. New York: The Prudential Book Co.

Wakefield Series No. 21; softcover with ornamental decoration in black and red; 125 p. and 1 p. publisher advertisement; 16 cm
RBC Call No.: Cameron 2E.17

The publishers advertisement in this volume includes information about the Prudential Book Company's coupon system entitled "To the Reader". This system was created "to furnish good literature to people who care for books at such a low cost as to be easily within the reach of everyone."

The Sign of the Four. New York: J.S. Ogilvie Publishing Company.

softcover black and cream with full length profile of Holmes with a gun; 17 6 p. and 16. p. advertisements; 18 cm
RBC Call No.: Cameron 2E.18

The Sign of Four. London: George Newnes, Limited. Illustrated by F.H. Townsend.

printed by William Clowes and Sons Limited, Duke Street, Stamford Street, S.E. and Great Windmill Street, W.; softcover lettering in green with drawing by Herbert Cole 1903; 124 p. and 5 p. publishers advertisements; 21.5 cm; 8 illustrations by F.H. Townsend (dated 1903)
RBC Call No.: Cameron 2E.21.1

The Sign of the Four. Chicago: Donohue, Henneberry & Co.

printed by Donohue & Henneberry Printers and Binders; publishers cloth green with floral decoration; 229 p.; 16 cm
RBC Call No.: Cameron 2A. 17.3

This volume includes "A Scandal in Bohemia."

The Sign of Four. London: George Newnes, Ltd. [Illustrated by F. H. Townsend]

printed by Ballantyne & Co., Limited Tavistock Street London; 285 p.; 8 illustrations by F.H. Townsend
RBC Call No.: Cameron 2A.17.1

The Sign of Four. London: T. Nelson & Sons. [Frontispiece by Harold C. Fardsham?]

Nelson's Library; printed by T. Nelson and Sons Printers and Publishers; publishers cloth red with blind decoration and gilt lettering on spine; 286 p.; 16 cm; elaborately decorated title page with borders
RBC Call No.: Cameron 2A.17.11

The Sign of the Four. New York: Siegel, Cooper Co.

publishers cloth red with yellow and black painted on in scenic design;
193 p.; 16 cm
RBC Call No.: Cameron 2A.17.12

A note inserted into this item states that it is "a very early pirated edition issued before the title was changed in the first English book edition. ca 1890."

The Sign of the Four. New York: Street & Smith, Publishers.

publishers cloth maroon plain with gilt lettering on spine; 176 p. and 9 p.
advertisements; 19 cm
RBC Call No.: 2A.17.13

The Sign of the Four. New York: Street & Smith, Publishers.

publishers cloth maroon plain with gilt lettering on spine; 176 p. and 11 p.
advertisements; 19 cm
RBC Call No.: 2A.18

The Sign of the Four. New York: The Merchond Company Publishers.

publishers cloth tan with red and green decoration, gilt lettering on
spine, elaborately and fully decorated; 189 p.; 19 cm
RBC Call No.: Cameron 2A.17.10

The Sign of the Four. Ranway, NJ: The Mershon Company.

publishers cloth green with white lettering; 189 p.; 19 cm
RBC Call No.: Cameron 2A.17.9

The Sign of the Four and A Scandal in Bohemia. Chicago: Rand, McNally & Company.

publishers cloth green with black and gilt geometric pattern; 135 p.; 20
cm; gilt top edge
RBC Call No.: Cameron 2A.17.8

The Sign of the Four. New York: The F. M. Lupton Publishing Company.

publishers cloth greenish-blue with gilt lettering on spine; 206 p. (pp.1-
176), 2 p. publishers advertisements; 19 cm; gilt top edge

RBC Call No.: Cameron 2A.17.7

The Sign of the Four. New York: Hurst & Company Publishers.

publishers cloth red with gilt lettering on spine; 176 p.; 19 cm
RBC Call No.: Cameron 2A.17.6

The Sign of the Four. Chicago: M.A. Donohue & Company.

publishers cloth green with Victorian painting on front and white decorations on spine; 29 p. and 11 p. publishers advertisements; 20 cm; decorated endpapers; includes "A Scandal in Bohemia"
Cameron 2A.17.4

The Sign of the Four. Chicago: The Henneberry Company.

publishers cloth maroon with blind decoration and gilt lettering on spine; 202 p.; 19 cm
RBC Call No.: Cameron 2A.17.5

A Study in Scarlet with a note on Sherlock Holmes by Dr. Joseph Bell. London: Ward, Lock and Co. Limited. Illustrated by George Hutchinson. [Illustrations also by James Greig]

printed by Butler and Tanner, The Selwood Printing Works, Frome and London; paper and cloth bound with plain marbled paper and morocco label with gilt writing on the spine; 187 p. (96 p.); 22 cm; 2 illustrations by George Hutchinson and James Greig; text block printed in two columns; includes reprint of Dr. Joseph Bell's "Mr. Sherlock Holmes" and editor's preface; bound with Evelyn Innes with separate pagination; Evelyn Innes – A Study in Scarlet (spine title)
RBC Call No.: Cameron 2C.10

Each story has separate pagination.

A Study in Scarlet: A Novel. New York: A.L. Burt, Publisher.

The Home Library (spine title); publishers cloth dark maroon with gilt lettering on spine; 177, 145 p. and 6 p. publishers advertisements
RBC Call No.: Cameron 2C.12

This reprinting is bound with "The Captain of the Pole-Star", which has separate pagination.

A Study in Scarlet. Cleveland: The Arthur Westbrook Company.

American Detective Series No. 2; softcover with decorations in color on cover; 176 p. and 12 p. of "Beyond the City"; 18 cm
Cameron 2E.5

A Study in Scarlet. New York: American Publishers Corporation.

Granite Series No. 128; softcover green with floral pattern; 212 p. and 12 p. publishers advertisements; 18 cm
RBC Call No.: Cameron 2E.9

A Study in Scarlet. Chicago: [Homewood Publishing Company].

Calumet Series No. 348; softcover black and white with picture overlaid; 175 p. and 14 p. of "The Return" by Guy DeMaupassant; 18 cm
RBC Call No.: Cameron 2E.11

A Study in Scarlet. Chicago: M.A. Donohue & Company.

The Modern Author's Library No. 16; softcover with color decoration signed "E.O. Blunck '10"; 198 p. and 6 p. publishers advertisements; 18 cm
RBC Call No.: Cameron 2E.1

A Study in Scarlet. Chicago: M.A. Donohue & Company.

The Flashlight Detective Series No. 47; softcover with color decoration of Holmes with magnifying glass; 198 p. and 2 p. publishers advertisements; 18 cm; 25 ¢
RBC Call No.: Cameron 2E.2

A Study in Scarlet. New York: George Munro's Sons, Publishers.

Munro's Library of Popular Novels, No. [14]; softcover plain with black lettering and decorative borders; 177 p. and 1 p. of publishers advertisements; 18 cm
RBC Call No.: Cameron 2E.14

A Study in Scarlet: A Novel. Philadelphia: Royal Publishing Co.

softcover black with cream, full length Holmes holding a gun; 188 p. and 4 p. of publishers advertisements; 18 cm
RBC Call No.: Cameron 2E.15

A Study in Scarlet: A Novel. Philadelphia: Royal Publishing Co.

softcover black with cream, full length Holmes holding a gun; 188 p. and 6 p. of publishers advertisements; 18 cm

RBC Call No.: Cameron 2E.15

This volume is similar to that of Cameron 2E.15. However, there are 2 more pages of advertisements here, and the address of the publisher is different in the two volumes.

A Study in Scarlet. New York: J.S. Ogilvie Publishing Company.

Sunset Series No. 99; softcover blue with profile of Holmes; 176 p. and 16 p. publishers advertisements; 18 cm
RBC Call No.: Cameron 2E.4; Cameron 2E.5

A Study in Scarlet. New York: J.S. Ogilvie Publishing Company.

Sunset Series No. 279; softcover black and white with profile of Holmes; 176 p. and 16 p. publishers advertisements; 18 cm
RBC Call No.: Cameron 2E.6; Cameron 2E.7

A Study in Scarlet and A Case of Identity. Chicago: E.A. Weeks & Company.

publishers cloth green with gilt decoration and lettering on spine; 232 p. (pp. 1-201 p.); 20 cm
RBC Call No.: Cameron 2A.9.20

A Study in Scarlet: The First Book Written about Sherlock Holmes. London: Ward, Lock & co., Limited.

printed by L.T.A. Robinson Limited, The Botolph Printing Works
London; publishers cloth; 255 p.; 19 cm
RBC Call No.: Cameron 2A.9.19

This volume includes a reprint of the essay "Mr. Sherlock Holmes" by Dr. Joseph Bell as well as a publisher's note. The cover decoration is the same as 2A.9.1, but this includes a publishers device in the right hand corner or the front board

A Study in Scarlet. London: Ward, Lock & Co., Limited. [Frontispiece by James Greig]

publishers cloth red with blind decorations and gilt lettering on spine; 255 p. and 1 p. publishers advertisements; 16 cm
RBC Call No.: Cameron 2A.9.18

A Study in Scarlet and A Case of Identity. Philadelphia: John Wanamaker.

publishers cloth maroon with blind design and lettering in gilt on spine and front cover; 232 p.; 20 cm
RBC Call No.: Cameron 2A.9.17

A Study in Scarlet: A Novel. New York: Optimus Publishing Company.

publishers cloth light green with brown floral decorations; 175 p.; 17 cm
RBC Call No.: Cameron 2A.9.16

A Study in Scarlet. New York: The Mershon Company Publishers.

publishers cloth navy with blind border design, lettering in gilt on spine; 216 p.; 19 cm
RBC Call No.: Cameron 2A.9.15

A Study in Scarlet. New York: The Federal Book Company Publishers.

publishers cloth red with black floral design, reverse gilt on spine; 175 p.; 19 cm
RBC Call No.: Cameron 2A.9.14

A Study in Scarlet: A Novel. New York: The Federal Book Company Publishers.

publishers cloth red with black lettering, gilt lettering on spine; 175 p.; 19 cm
RBC Call No.: Cameron 2A.9.13

A Study in Scarlet. Chicago: M.A. Donohue & Co.

publishers cloth green with lettering in white, blind sun decoration on cover; 198, 58 p. and 4 p. publishers advertisements; 19 cm
RBC Call No.: Cameron 2A.9.12

A Study in Scarlet. Chicago: Donohue, Henneberry & Co.

publishers cloth blue with vine decoration in silver; 203 p.; 16 cm
RBC Call No.: Cameron 2A.9.10

A Study in Scarlet. Chicago: Donohue, Henneberry & Co.

publishers cloth green with vine decoration in silver; 203 p.; 16 cm
RBC Call No.: Cameron 2A.9.11

A Study in Scarlet. Chicago: Donohue, Henneberry & Co.

publishers cloth brown with blind floral decoration; 230 p.; 19 cm
RBC Call No.: Cameron 2A.9.9

This volume also includes "A Case of Identity."

A Study in Scarlet: A Novel. Chicago: W.B. Conkey Company.

publishers cloth red with black decorations; 189 p. (pp. 1-175, 176 – 189
"The Return" by Guy DeMaupassant) and 2 p. publishers
advertisements; 19 cm
RBC Call No.: Cameron 2A.9.8

A Study in Scarlet. New York: H.M. Caldwell Company. [Frontispiece]

Superb Edition (on cover); publishers cloth with elaborate blind
decorations, edition statement in black and red, and gilt on spine and
around borders; 201 p.; 16 cm; frontispiece is photography of Dr. A.
Conan Doyle
RBC Call No.: Cameron 2A.9.7

A Study in Scarlet: A Novel. New York: A.L. Burt Publisher.

Cornell Series (on spine); publishers cloth green plain with gilt on spine;
365 p.; 19 cm
RBC Call No.: Cameron 2A.9.5

A Study in Scarlet: A Novel. New York: A.L. Burt Publisher.

Cornell Series (on spine); publishers cloth light green plain with black
lettering on spine; 365 p.; 20 cm
RBC Call No.: Cameron 2A.9.6

A Study in Scarlet. New York: A.L. Burt Company, Publisher. [Frontispiece by J.
Watson Davis]

The Home Library (on spine); publishers cloth maroon plain with gilt
lettering on spine; 365 p. and 2 p. publishers advertisements; 19 cm
RBC Call No.: Cameron 2A.9.4

A Study in Scarlet: A Novel. New York: A.L. Burt Company, Publisher. [Frontispiece
by J. Watson Davis]

publishers cloth red plain with title on spine; 365 p.; 20 cm
RBC Call No.: Cameron 2A.9.3

A Study in Scarlet: A Novel. New York: William L. Allison & co., Publishers.

publishers cloth maroon with blind decoration; 188 p.; 19 cm
RBC Call No.: Cameron 2A.9.2

Tales of Sherlock Holmes. New York: Little Leather Library.

Red Croft Edition (on back board); leather binding with blind panel; 96 p.;
10 cm; includes "A Case of Identity" and "A Scandal of Bohemia"
RBC Call No.: Cameron 2C.18

The Valley of Fear. London: George Newnes, Limited.

printed by Cornwall Press, Ltd., Paris Garden, Stamford Street, London,
S.E. 1; publishers cloth light green with black lettering, blind decoration;
254 p.; 18 cm
RBC Call No.: Cameron 2A.42.4

The Valley of Fear. New York: The Review of Reviews Company Publishers, c.1914.

publishers cloth brown plain with paper label on spine; 320 p.; 19 cm
RBC Call No.: Cameron 2A.42.2

The Valley of fear. New York: A.L. Burt Company Publishers, c.1914. [Illustrated by
Arthur I. Keller]

publishers cloth brown with white lettering; 320 p. and 2 p. publishers
advertisements; 19 cm; 4 illustrations by Arthur I. Keller
RBC Call No.: Cameron 2A.42.1

The Valley of Fear. New York: George H. Doran Company, c.1914. [Illustrated by
Arthur I. Keller]

publishers cloth red with gilt lettering; 320 p.; 20 cm; 7 color
illustrations by Arthur I. Keller
RBC Call No.: Cameron 2A.42